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WHEN IT COMES TO BEHAVIOUR, ISN'T IT
TIME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE TO BE SEEN AND HEARD

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

At the start of this research in September 2010, reported crime in general and specifically in the borough of Fairfield in London, continued to fall, and this included youth crime (Metropolitan Police 2010). Fairfield has replaced the name of the actual Borough. Despite this there was a perceived problem by many of those in authority and the community of Fairfield, of greatly increased anti-social behaviour and criminality involving young people. This resulted in anti-social behaviour orders being imposed and the increased use of exclusion zones as a tactic to reduce this behaviour. It would be unwise to go as far as to deny that the behaviour of the young is problematic; but the criminalisation of this behaviour ensures that its causes, and indeed, its objectives, recede into the background (Smith 2003: p188).

To deal with this perceived level of crime there was a heavy emphasis in terms of police time and budget on catching and punishing offenders as a way of dealing with crime and anti-social behaviour as opposed to preventing the offending. There was also in the opinion of the author, but with academic support, a lack of understanding of what worked to positively influence the behaviour of young people. From talking to young people through his work this included in the home, school, and within the criminal justice system. This was combined with a belief that young people were neither consulted, nor listened to on the rare occasions they were spoken to.

This work will look to answer the following questions:

- Why ‘society’ has the perception it does about young people concerning criminal and poor behaviour.
- What governments have sought to do to achieve a level of control of such behaviour through legislation and policy, the theoretical support for this, and whether these are the most effective policies considering all the factors in the young people’s lives.
- Finally it will look to examine what young people feel are the things that effect their behaviour in a positive or negative way in the home, in school, and in the community.

The opinions of the young people were obtained through surveys conducted over three years which were analysed using SPSS, together with one to one interviews and group discussions. Taken together, this provided sufficient information on which to base analysis and

conclusions concerning behaviour and the most effective interventions in Fairfield and beyond.

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As all PhD students will be aware some of the biggest burdens from several years of study fall on your family and I would like to thank Phoebe, Sarah, Mia and most of all my darling wife Sally for their support during these years. Special thanks to Sally for proof reading the thesis and schooling me in the correct use of the comma.

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GLOSSARY

ACORN	Is an acronym for A Classification Of Residential Neighbourhoods and is a geodemographic information system categorising all UK postcodes into various types based upon census data and other information such as life style surveys, and is generally used by marketing firms.
ADHD:	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder is a condition that makes it hard for affected children to control their behaviour and pay attention. It is sometimes referred to as ADD (Attention Deficit Disorder).
ASB:	Anti-Social Behaviour has various definitions but is behaviour labelled as against the norm by society.
ASBO:	Anti-Social Behaviour Order is a civil order given to try and control behaviour.
ASPD:	Anti-Social Personality Disorder is a very serious Conduct Disorder.
ASSET:	Asset is a structured assessment tool used by YOTs in England and Wales on all young people who have offended or who come into contact with the criminal justice system. It aims to look at the young person's offence or offences and identify a multitude of factors or circumstances which may have contributed to such behaviour. The information gathered from Asset can be used to inform court reports so that appropriate intervention programmes can be drawn up. It will also highlight any particular needs or difficulties the young person has, so that these may be addressed.
CAF:	Common Assessment Framework allows multi-agency practitioners to assess the strengths and needs of children and young people in a uniform and comprehensive way. In Fairfield it provides a tool for assessment, action planning, referral and review.
CAMHS:	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services is part of the National Health Service, providing specialist mental health and behavioural services to young people up to at least 16 years of age.
CAP:	Children's Area Partnerships were how Fairfield dealt with children's matters for several years.
CCJS:	Centre for Crime and Justice Studies is based at Kings College London, and is an independent charity that informs and educates about all aspects of the criminal justice system.

CDRP:	Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership is a multi-agency group established by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. By law each partnership must include the MPA, the MPS, local authorities, Primary Care Trusts, London Fire Brigade and Probation Services, but may also include a range of additional organisations and businesses, all of whom have banded together to develop and implement strategies for tackling crime and disorder at a local level.
CIPFA:	The Chartered Institute for Public Finance and Accountancy.
COMPASS:	Provides comfort and care to adults and young people to recover from drugs and alcohol.
CPS:	Crown Prosecution Service is the service used to prosecute criminal cases in England and Wales.
CSEW:	Crime Survey of England and Wales measures crime by asking people their experience of crime. In 2012/13 50,000 people were polled.
CSP:	Community Safety Partnership is another term for CDRP's but often also refers to the department within the Local Authority where several staff from various agencies work.
ECYPS:	Fairfield and Young Person Children's Service is a charity providing an umbrella service for other organisations working on behalf of young people.
FASD:	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome is a condition that effects a baby's growth due to mothers' drinking during pregnancy.
FIP:	Family Intervention Programmes.
FSM:	Free School Meals.
FSTC	Fairfield Secondary Tuition Centre
GBH:	Grievous Bodily Harm is a legal term used for an assault and relates to section's 18 and 20 of the Offences Against the Persons Act 1861.
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product is the market value of all officially recognised final goods and services produced within a country in a year, or other given period of time.
GCSE:	General Certificate of Secondary Education is the current certificate awarded at secondary schools and replaced the 'O' level and CSE in 1988.
GNVQ:	General National Vocational Qualification was a vocational educational certificate last awarded in 2007.

HMIC:	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary is a group that independently assesses police forces and policing activity.
KCPP:	Knife Crime Prevention Programme was a government intervention which aimed to reduce the prevalence of knife carrying and use by young people.
LEAP:	A Charity specialising in Conflict Resolution.
LGA:	Local Government Association is the national voice of local government.
LFB:	London Fire Brigade
LYRC:	Life Youth Resource Centre is primarily a youth mentoring service.
MOJ:	Ministry of Justice which took over the duties of the previous department of constitutional affairs and parts of the Home Office in May 2007.
MORI:	A Leading Market Research Company
MPA:	Metropolitan Police Authority scrutinises and supports the work of the Metropolitan Police Service. It is made up of twelve London Assembly and eleven independent members.
MPS:	Metropolitan Police Service.
MRI:	Magnetic Resonance Imaging is used to examine inside the body.
MUGA:	Multi Use Games Area which is a caged area where various games can be played.
NAO:	National Audit Office audits most public sector bodies in the UK.
NEET:	Young people Not in Education Employment or Training.
NICE:	National Institute for Health and Care Excellence is a non-departmental public body and is part of the National Health Service producing various guidelines.
NOMS:	National Offender Management Service is an executive agency of the Ministry of Justice and is responsible for correctional services in England and Wales.
NSPCC:	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is a children's charity aimed at preventing child abuse.
OCJS:	The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey ran from 2003-2006, and was a four-year rotating panel study, the first national longitudinal, self-report offending survey for England and Wales
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is an organisation founded to stimulate economic progress and world trade.

OFSTED:	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills reports directly to Parliament and inspects and regulated schools and other bodies providing care and skills to young people.
ONSET:	Onset promotes the YJB's prevention strategy by helping to identify risk factors to be reduced and protective factors to be enhanced. It also provides information which might be helpful in selecting appropriate interventions for those identified as needing early intervention.
ONS:	Office National Statistics
PCT:	Primary Care Trust is a group that were largely administrative bodies, and were responsible for commissioning primary, community and secondary health services from providers up until 31 May 2011.
PEP:	Parent Engagement Panel
PSHE:	Personal Social and Health Education.
PNC:	Police National Computer is a national database of information available to all police forces and law enforcement agencies throughout England and Wales.
PRU:	Pupil Referral Unit is a school for pupils excluded from mainstream schools
SEN	Children with Special Educational Needs.
SPSS:	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences is a software package used for statistical analysis.
TAG:	An electronic surveillance device applied to people within the justice system to monitor their location.
UN:	United Nations is an inter-governmental organisation set up after the Second World War to assist international co-operation.
WAVE:	Worldwide Alternatives to Violence is a Trust/Charity set up to break cycles of family dysfunction and child maltreatment.
YEP:	Independent Youth Charity in Fairfield dealing largely with behaviour.
YISP:	Youth Inclusion Support Panel is part of YOS and deals with young people aged eight to thirteen. The panel is multi-agency and deals largely to prevent young people joining the criminal justice system.
YJB:	Youth Justice Board oversees the Youth Justice system in England and Wales.
YLS:	Youth Lifestyles Survey carried out in 1998/1999.

YOS: Youth Offending Service or Youth Offending Team (YOT) is a multi-agency team that deals with young people whose behaviour has broken or may break the law.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Motivation for the thesis

The notion for this thesis started as far back as 2003 when the author was promoted to the rank of police inspector with responsibility for partnership matters in the London Borough of Fairfield. Throughout the thesis Fairfield has replaced the name of the actual borough to try and help ensure the full co-operation of all those involved in the research, together with feeling ethically correct. During the next ten years until he retired he held a variety of roles as inspector including partnership, response team, safer neighbourhoods, and the one he enjoyed the most of youth inspector. These roles provided various experiences and helped ferment a few feelings within the author that needed to be explored, which ultimately gave him the passion and energy to complete this research.

As a Partnership Inspector he was based at the Civic Centre of the local authority where the majority of the local authority staff were based. He attended many multi-agency meetings, helped implement joint action plans and became very familiar with working in partnership with several statutory bodies, as well as those from the voluntary sector in order to achieve policing goals. It became obvious to the author during this period that policing issues and criminality could not be solved by the police alone, but needed a much wider holistic approach.

As a Response Team Inspector the author attended many incidents, some of which were very serious in nature, sometimes involving fatalities, including deaths of young people. What the author found slightly depressing was the feeling that the behavioural cycle was being repeated again and again. Therefore regardless of how well his team and himself responded to incidents they appeared powerless to stop the same or similar incidents from happening again.

As with the partnership role, as a Safer Neighbourhoods Inspector and then Acting Chief Inspector the author had responsibility for a problem solving style of policing which required him to liaise and work with partners from several other agencies and statutory bodies. He witnessed at first hand the plethora of issues that affect both adults and young people within communities, and the successes and failures of attempts to deal with these issues by the police and other authorities. These experiences strengthened his belief that there were many

issues with possible causal effects on behaviour and criminality, or at least issues with statistical significance, some of which appeared beyond the control of the individuals and families involved, and strengthened his belief that it was unlikely any single agency could deal with the issues in isolation.

The author's final role as a Borough Inspector and the one that gave him the most satisfaction was that of Youth Inspector which gave him accountability for youth crime, with specific responsibility for policing schools, the Youth Offending Service (YOS), and preventative interventions. He attended many meetings and conference with head teachers, managers from the YOS as well as other professionals from within the criminal justice system, together with many interventions involving staff from partner organisations during his three years in post. This ensured the author became familiar with the workings of both the educational system and criminal justice system concerning young people in Fairfield, and meant he was well placed to judge the effectiveness of interventions from within both fields in terms of behaviour. The author's understanding of educational matters and behaviour involving pupils, had been helped by becoming the Chair of Governors of a large secondary school in Fairfield at the beginning of 2011, where one responsibility was to chair the discipline panel, which included dealing with the permanent exclusions of pupils. Over the ten years working within Fairfield Borough the author attended many meetings and briefings in order to reduce criminality and improve behaviour. The vast majority of these meetings were about enforcement rather than prevention. The author became increasingly frustrated at the direction of policing in London and Fairfield which seemed to put far more emphasis on proactive operations to 'fight crime' rather than effective prevention to make such a fight unnecessary. This belief had grown over his police career, especially as an Inspector but had been cemented by talking to young people whilst performing his role, and listening to them which he noted many other people in positions of power and responsibility did not do.

At this point there is a need to establish who is a young person for the purpose of this research, and unless otherwise stated it will be a person under the age of eighteen. This age was chosen as at present in England and Wales, a person will be dealt with as a juvenile offender if under the age of eighteen. Also as Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by the UK government in 1991, states that a child "means every human being below the age of eighteen years" (Convention on the Rights of a Child 1989).

1.2 Lack of consultation with young people

During these many meetings discussing the criminality of young people the author often examined the people in the room and observed even in his forties he was sometimes the youngest person in the room, or at the very least, nowhere near the oldest. There was nobody present at the meetings who were near the age of the people being discussed or who could accurately reflect what it was like to be a young person in Fairfield.

An indication of this lack of consultation with young people was shown in a previous study completed by the author in 2007 in Fairfield working towards a Masters degree looking at crime prevention, young people and their choice of leisure activities in comparison to crime and anti-social behaviour in the area. At that time the local authority were investing heavily in multi-use games areas (MUGA), a prominent part of which is a basketball court. In a survey of over five hundred secondary school pupils only one percent of young people indicated a desire to play basketball. The most popular activity by a large margin with the young people was swimming, yet the number of places available per head of population was below that of the recommendation from Sport England. Since then the population of Fairfield has risen sharply but no new pools have been built, thus making that figure worse. No young person spoken to by the author had been asked by the Local Authority what they wanted resources available to develop leisure activities to be spent on.

If young people were spoken to, the author was aware from experience that their opinions were not always considered or given sufficient significance. Recent events concerning the sexual exploitation of children show the possible consequences of dismissing the thoughts of young people. This was especially so in Rotherham where reports in 2002, 2003 and 2006 stating the significance of the child sexual exploitation problem were ignored by the Police and Local Authority (Alexis Jay OBE, 2013). The author felt strongly that the voice of young people should be heard, and for them to have representation at decision making meetings, evidence of this being that he co-founded the youth charity, Enfield Youth Engagement Panel mentioned in this thesis, a main aim of which is to achieve these things. This desire for young people to be heard was the first component in why he chose the area of research that he did, as he was aware that young people did not feel consulted about their behaviour.

1.3 Perception of young people

The second major reason for choosing the study area was that over the ten years working in Fairfield, but especially when working in his community and youth roles the author formed the view that the perception of youth crime and behaviour by those in society was much worse than the reality he encountered. The 'those' referred to include the majority of elected local politicians in Fairfield, several more prominent politicians from both within the London Assembly and local Members of Parliament. It also included 'the public', many of whom were spoken to at meetings to discuss various issues, where the discussion of youth crime and behaviour took up a disproportionate amount of time in comparison to the reported crime of young people and anti-social behaviour.

One example of this was then when attending ward panels, which were attended by local councillors, local authority staff and police, who could all be questioned by the public about subjects of their choosing. Members of the public would almost always complain about anti-social behaviour and assumed young people were responsible for that behaviour. In fact in Fairfield the author was aware that young people below the age of eighteen were responsible for just less than a quarter of such behaviour at the time he was conducting these meetings. What was also apparent at these public meetings, confirming the author's view that there was a lack of consultation with young people, was that they were not attended by young people, with less than ten young people attending these meetings over a period of two years.

A further example of the community having an unfair view of young people was the amount of complaints about the pupils of a school near the centre of Fairfield, alleging various types of criminality. In fact there was almost no reported crime involving these pupils, although they were very noisy at the end of the school day.

1.4 The current effectiveness of the system

As stated above the author was already concerned that too much emphasis was placed on catch and punish policing as opposed to preventative policing. He was also aware from his experience that with budgetary constraints starting to bite after the banking crisis preventative measures would be reduced still further. Therefore it was vitally important to ensure available

money was used in the most efficient and effective way but from his experience he was not sure this was currently the case in Fairfield as there seemed to be little effective analysis of interventions used.

Previous academic research indicated there was conflicting evidence in terms of effectiveness about some of the preventative interventions that were being run in Fairfield by the police in partnership with departments of the local authority and those from the voluntary sector. As suggested by a HMIC report discussed below, together with many others who operate in this field, although the Fairfield statutory bodies had a belief interventions worked, they had completed little or no research into the true effectiveness of these interventions by providing statistical evidence. Looking at the interventions currently being run in Fairfield, some appear to have academic support, such as a six week programme around conflict based on the model designed by the LEAP charity. LEAP is the name of a charity established to deal with conflict in young people. A meta-analysis of two hundred experimental or quasi-experimental studies examined intervention programmes for serious juvenile offenders with an average age of fourteen to seventeen, was conducted between 1970 and 1999. It found that deterrence and punishment do not appear to have an impact on recidivism. Conflict resolution programmes, on the other hand, were found to be effective in helping serious young offenders, most of whom had a history of aggressive behaviour, to deal with conflict without resorting to violence and to reduce re-offending (Lipsey and Wilson 1998).

However another intervention that is run in Fairfield, that of prison visits, which are believed by the police and Youth Offending Service (YOS) to be successful, in fact appear to have much less academic support. The Fairfield 'prison visit' involves taking a small group of young people to an established prison, informing them of the conditions in the prison, speaking to some of the prisoners about their experiences during incarceration and carrying out a series of exercises. Petrosino et. al. show clear empirical evidence, over twenty five years and in eight jurisdictions, that 'Scared Straight', a scheme in the USA where young people visit prisons to try and deter them from committing crime, may have a harmful effect and are in fact likely to increase the chances that children exposed to them will offend or re-offend (Petrosino et. al. 2006).

A joint inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) on September 9th 2010 stated that there needed to be improvements in the evaluation of interventions. The

inspection team visited seven local authority areas and examined seventy five individual cases where children had been referred for interventions to prevent offending, and spoke to many practitioners and managers of children's services, police and health. The scope of interventions varied widely, but in some cases it was difficult to understand why an intervention was made, as it did not appear to address the issues raised at the child's assessment. This is supported by the young people interviewed during the research several of whom stated they did not understand why they had been given a particular intervention. A further example is a recent referral to the Youth Engagement Panel (YEP) by a YOS worker which perfectly highlights the issue. Two young men were referred for a music intervention despite when questioned having no interest in music. When questioned why this had happened one answered 'got to do something to do the hours', implying the intervention was little more than a way of filling the supervised hours required by a court order, rather than an attempt to rehabilitate them.

The HMIC report concluded that an investment in prevention services at an early stage of a child's life is likely to be cheaper than trying to work with an individual once they are within the criminal justice system. The report also added there was little evidence of local evaluation either of individual interventions, or of the longer term outcomes for children. Better evaluation would enable everyone to see what works to improve the ability of practitioners to turn young people away from crime (Hussein, D. 2010). This is supported by another report by the National Audit Office (NAO) on behalf of the Ministry of Justice. The report suggested that practitioners in the youth justice system did not know which interventions had had the most impact on reducing re-offending (MoJ 2011).

So the Government, police and other statutory bodies did not appear to know the best way to influence young people's behaviour. In the years leading up to the commencement of the thesis young people agreed with this but also commented to the author on the apparent inability of schools or parents to control or influence their behaviour, and the apparent unwillingness of adults in any controlling capacity to talk to them about it. The young people seemed to be saying something very different to what local and many senior police officers and politicians were saying, in terms of how to positively affect behaviour and criminality. It therefore seemed obvious that the group of people who needed to be asked about what works in reducing youth criminality and poor behaviour was the young people themselves. The author was aware that up to this point he may not have spoken to young people who were

representative of the whole youth population and so they may not have reflected the views of the majority of young people in Fairfield and therefore wanted to test what the young people had told him.

1.5 Aims of the thesis

This thesis will therefore examine if and why the behaviour of young people is perceived as a problem by society and the government despite crime figures suggesting otherwise. It will examine government policy and previous criminological research looking at the reasons for poor behaviour and the best way to prevent or improve such behaviour. Finally it will examine if that matches what young people consider affects their behaviour in positive or negative ways by examining interventions used by their parents, schools and the criminal justice system. This will lead to the author being able to make conclusions and recommendations about the best way to positively influence the behaviour of young people.

The thesis will achieve these aims having completed this introduction by firstly examining what effects the perception of adults within society about young people concerning criminality and behaviour, and looking at the role of the media in arriving at this perception. The role of the government and how it has developed law and policy to deal with such behaviour will be examined in chapter three. This will include a critical look at the effectiveness of these policies and an examination of factors in people's lives that that the author and others suggest influence their decision making processes in chapter four. The thesis makes the suggestion that current policies are not the most effective as they fail to take account of those factors in the decision to commit crime. The next chapter will discuss the importance of asking young people, who in the author's opinion are a group grossly under consulted at this time, what they believe and why it is important to involve them in the decision making processes. Having explained why it is important to consult with young people about their behaviour chapters six and seven will discuss the theory of how to complete such research in order to obtain those opinions and how the fieldwork for this thesis put that theory into practice. The final two chapters will discuss analysis of the information and data obtained, the findings that emanate from that analysis and the conclusions and recommendations that can be drawn from those findings.

Chapter 2 - Crime perception and government emphasis on youth crime

2.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will examine the perceived level of youth crime, if this accurately reflects youth behaviour, and whether the resultant level of scrutiny it receives from the government is proportionate and appropriate. The suggestion of the author is that the behaviour of young people is not as bad as perceived by the public within society and those in authority, and that the decision to concentrate on youth crime is therefore partly based on political as opposed to criminological reasons.

A possible reason for this wrong perception of crime is inaccurate crime figures and a subsequent refusal by 'society' to believe them. The chapter will firstly therefore look at the current two methods of recording crime figures in England and Wales, namely police recorded crime (PRC), and the crime survey of England and Wales (CSEW). It will also look at how this allows governments to suggest crime is 'out of control', and why they may be content with such a misconception. Secondly the chapter will examine media coverage of crime and how this can shape public opinion. It will show how news media coverage of young people is usually negative, and how crime as a genre plays a large part in both film, TV and literature entertainment, and how this leads to a raised fear of crime. Finally the chapter will look at figures which suggest that in terms of people killed and injured, the government concentrates on the wrong type of crime, and evidence for this is the number of police officers deployed, and the figures for people being killed and injured.

2.2 *Crime Figures*

In terms of figures, at the start of the research an examination of the crime figures and statistics released by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) in a report in October 2010 revealed that figures for ten to seventeen year olds receiving a first reprimand, final warning or conviction had fallen significantly for 2009/10 as it was 55,291 which was a decrease of twenty three percent on 2008/9 which stood at 74,588 (Ministry of Justice 14th October 2010). So the MoJ figures showed crime falling, but how accurate and reliable are the figures? A brief look at information about crime shows that in the early 1940's and 1950's the only real sources of information were that of the annually published figures, and the research findings of the few criminologists at that time (Maguire et. al. 2003, p324). From then to the present day there has been an enormous increase in the number of criminologists, many of whom have

completed research, often on behalf of the Home Office. The advances in computer technology has also meant that more crime figures have been collected and more analysis done on those figures.

However in terms of crime recorded by the police there are large swathes of crime and disorder that are never reported to the police. Around nine and a half million offences took place in 2011-12, yet just four million offences were reported to the police in the same year (Office for National Statistics 2012). There may be several reasons why people do not report crime, such as a lack of confidence in the police or not actually realising a crime has occurred. This point appears to be supported by the findings of this projects research as at best young people say they are caught for one in three offences they commit, and more persistent offenders say at best it is one in five. There is not time within this thesis to discuss in great detail how and why police record or do not record crime, however even the Office for National Statistics (ONS) casts doubt on crime reductions as indicated by the PRC figures. It expressed concerns the police had decided not to list 400,000 offences over the last five years, opting to treat them instead as anti-social behaviour. This was discovered by the ONS when it found that PRC was dropping twice as fast as that indicated by the CSEW (Morris 2013). Over the years there have also been many changes in the way certain types of crime are classified which have either increased or decreased crime. An example being the upgrading of 'common assault' and other minor offences to the status of 'notifiable offences', thus widening the range of behaviours included in the published statistics (Maguire et. al. 2003, p323).

As well as the problem with police deciding how to deal with the law, there is also the issue that the law is constantly changing so what was once a legal activity is now illegal and visa-versa. An example of an act that was legal and is now rightly illegal is rape within marriage. It was only in 1991 that the law changed, prior to that the marriage contract was deemed to imply on-going consent to sexual intercourse. An example of where a previously illegal act is now legal is a consensual homosexual sex (Garside, R. 2011). The alleged inaccuracy of official figures caused many criminologists in the 1970's to dismiss crime figures as almost worthless (Maguire et. al. 2003, p322). The attitude of Maguire to view them with a critical eye seems more constructive.

Despite clear problems with PRC it could still be argued to be a more reliable indicator of crime trends than the other current main source of crime information, that being the number of crimes as determined by a survey of people in England and Wales, currently called the CSEW. The CSEW is quite narrow and only has a partial covering as it does not cover homicide or death from dangerous driving, nor does it cover sexual offences in the main data set, meaning the PRC covers more data types. However the CSEW does deal with some of the reporting issues of PRC in that it asks people directly about crime in terms of offending and being a victim of crime. What the survey has demonstrated since it started in 1982 is that only a minority of incidents that are recognised as ‘crimes’ by their ‘victims’ end up in the official statistics (Hough and Mayhew 1983), and it was estimated in 2003 that about forty per cent of crimes known to victims and reported to the police do not end up in the official statistics (Kershaw et. al. 2001, p992). Much more detailed information is now also collected about the crimes, for example, how far offenders travel to offend, and what kind of damage or loss the victims suffer (Maguire et. al. 2003, p326).

But this self-reporting method of data collection has had its problems, and also being subject to change, an example being that the CSEW was originally known as the British Crime Survey (BCS) and the way the data is collected has changed over the years. Scotland was covered in the BCS till the late 1980’s, and now both Scotland and Northern Ireland have their own version of a survey. Under sixteen’s have only been consulted since 2009 and in the early two thousands the BCS moved from an annual survey of 5,000 to a survey of 50,000 people. It should also be noted that on the last occasion the ONS held the survey only three quarters of the households asked to respond actually did so (ONS 2012).

A good example of why crime figures are not trusted and also how the press exacerbate the situation is shown in the following example. The Daily Telegraph on the 12th April 2013, which was also covered in the Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Star stated:

“Anti-social behaviour growing, says official survey. More than eight out of 10 people say anti-social behaviour has risen in England and Wales over the past 12 months, the Government’s main crime survey has revealed.”

In the same week the ONS revealed nearly a third of people surveyed for the above mentioned report said they had experienced or witnessed anti-social behaviour locally at least once in the past twelve months. Clearly a considerable difference in figures but how could

such a discrepancy be explained? The user guide for the CSEW refers to high levels of ASB as relating to abandoned or burnt-out cars; noisy neighbours or loud parties; people being drunk or rowdy in public places; people using or dealing drugs; rubbish or litter lying around; teenagers hanging around on the streets; and vandalism, graffiti, and other deliberate damage to property. Looking at general perceptions of anti-social behaviour, rather than high levels, which is more broadly defined in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 as ‘acting in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household’ there is a spike in the perception levels. As the Telegraph reports, if we consider both people who think anti-social behaviour has gone up a lot with people who think it has gone up a little, we have eighty one percent of people surveyed believing anti-social behaviour has gone up, and this is what newspapers are reporting. According to the ONS the distinction between different types of anti-social behaviour is crucial, and overall;

“longer term trends indicate a decrease in the perceived level of anti-social behaviour for most indicators, apart from levels of problems with noisy neighbours and drunk or rowdy behaviour which remain relatively flat” (Full Fact 2013).

An article in the Independent later in 2013 concerning a survey by the Royal Statistical Society confirmed the vast disparity between what the British public believes to be the state of the nation, and the actual reality reflected by official statistics. As well as on crime other examples of this were that on average the public thought teenage pregnancy rates were twenty five times higher than they were. People also overestimated the amount of benefit fraud thirty four times over, believing the rate to be twenty four per cent of the total benefits bill, when the true figure was zero point seven per cent (Hogg 2013). Previous literature suggests that perceptions of youth crime are not always based on personal experiences and it has been suggested that ‘perceptions of prevalence tend to outstrip direct experience of youth crime’ (Anderson et al., 2005). This phenomenon also implies that external factors, such as media reporting, have a role to play in shaping the public’s view of youth crime (Halsey and White 2008, p6) and this will be discussed in the section below.

Professor Marian Fitzgerald of the University of Kent’s crime and justice centre, a sceptic on crime figures believes the problem is that crime is changing so fast that the two main current yardsticks of the CSEW and PRC are not capable of capturing accurate data because of new types of crime, such as on-line fraud (Travis 2013). Clearly the increases in the production of

new information would not have occurred without major increases in government investment in data collection and research. These in turn would not have been sanctioned without the emergence of crime, as evidenced in opinion polls and elsewhere, as one of the greatest areas of public concern and as a key issue on the national political agenda. A suggestion as to why politicians may not quash such a heightening of the fear of crime is provided by Signorielli:

‘Fearful people are more dependent, more easily manipulated and controlled, more susceptible to deceptively simple, strong, tough measures and hard line postures....they may accept and even welcome repression if it promises to relieve their insecurities and other anxieties’ (Signorielli 1990, p102).

So the growing intolerance of the fear of crime by the public, sensationalist media reporting which will be examined shortly, and exploitation of the subject by politicians have all combined to produce a general perception that crime is ‘getting out of control’ (Maguire et. al. 2003, p329).

However despite this perception and even if there are worries about the accuracy of the figures, there seems little doubt that crime is falling in most categories. That includes youth crime, which show that from the latest figures from the MoJ there were 30,778 reprimands, warnings or conditional cautions given to young people in England and Wales in 2012/13. This is a decrease of twenty six percent on the 41,343 given in 2011/12 in England and Wales in 2012/13, and a decrease of sixty four per cent on the 86,469 given in 2002/03 (Ministry of Justice January 2014). However NFER conducted research comparing the public’s perception of youth crime and actual crime figures and no correlation was found between the two sets of data. This suggests regardless of the actual figures, there is no relationship between perceptions of behaviour and the prevalence of youth crime. One example of this would be if such a relationship existed one might expect more negative perceptions in high crime areas compared to low crime areas, but this was not the case (Halsey and White 2008, p7). So could it be how crime is dealt with in the media causes much of this misconception regarding crime, and this will be examined in the section below.

2.3 Media coverage of crime

2.3.1 Coverage in the News: Despite the above figures, publicity for young people was and still is largely negative. Evidence in support of this view is shown in an IPSOS Mori study in 2004 which found that seventy one percent of youth related local and national stories were

negative, with only fourteen percent being positive (MORI 2004). Newspapers amplify deviance or cause 'moral panics', by reporting cases of what appears to be a new variety of criminal behaviour, thereby sparking off a general media trawl for similar events and 'uncovering' or 'creating' a significant new 'crime problem'. A new name is coined, enhancing the sense of a new kind of threat, such as 'lager louts' and 'road rage'. The extra publicity often leads more people to report instances to the police, perhaps even engage in the behaviour themselves, researchers begin to seek grants to investigate its 'scale', policy makers ask agencies to keep new kinds of records, and politicians call for government action to respond to what is now judged to be a mounting problem (Maguire et. al. 2003, p329).

Another explanation of media influence was shown in Home Office study (CCJS, No.2 Feb 2010) which found that readers of national tabloid newspapers were twice as likely as those who read national broadsheets to think the crime rate in the country as a whole, and in their local area, has increased 'a lot' in the last two years (Lovbakke 2007). This is significant, as approximately six times as many people read tabloid newspapers as broadsheets (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2012). Examples of why this might be can be seen with articles in the biggest selling tabloid, the Sun. In 2002 it launched its 'crusade against crime' with the headline on March 8th 'Anarchy in the UK', and seven subsequent pages detailing the failures of the justice system 'to smash crime with an iron fist'. It followed this on March 18th with the assertion that 'our streets are ruled by muggers and yobs'. This was supported by the Mirror who one month earlier had announced that we are 'drowning in a tidal wave of violent crime' (Muncie 2002, p13)

A further more recent example of media bias on youth violence than that of the MORI poll in 2004 involved Canadian research conducted in 2010 by Jane Sprott looking at newspaper articles in three Toronto newspapers over a two month period compared to cases appearing in Ontario's youth courts. It found the figures for charges involving offences of violence were twenty two percent, property crime fifty percent, other offences eighteen percent, youth legislation seven percent, and other federal offences three percent. However it found that publicity in the newspapers for the types of offences concentrated almost exclusively on violent crime at ninety four percent, with only five percent for property offences (Sprott 2010).

2.3.2 Coverage in Entertainment: This bias in favour of reporting violent offences may explain some of society's perception that youth and violent youth crime is a major problem. But news reporting is not just in print, it is also on television with twenty four hour news stations, with the public receiving constant reminders of how violent society and specifically young people are. This perception is added to by other media such as books, film, and computer games. Stories of crime and detection have been staples of modern literature since the early days of the novel, as the works of Defoe, Fielding and Dickens illustrate (Ousby 1976; Durston 1996). One estimate suggests that between a quarter and a third of total paperback output could probably be put into the category of 'thriller' of one kind or another (Mandel 1984, p66-7). Crime stories have also been a perennial prominent genre in the cinema, the dominant mass medium of the first half of the twentieth century (Rafter 2000). The proportion of films about crime has fluctuated cyclically since the Second World War, but there is no long term increase or decrease in crime films (Allen et. al.. 1997). In most years around twenty per cent of all films are crime movies, and a round half of all films have a significant crime content (Maguire et. al. 2003, p388). Stories about crime and law enforcement have also been a staple diet for programme makers on television. In most years since 1955 around twenty five per cent of the most popular shows on both American and British television have been crime or police series (Reiner et. al. 2000). There is an over reliance on violent crime in film and television crime drama with murder and other violent crimes featuring vastly more frequently than other offences that are much more common on official statistics. A study of plot details of films since the Second World War shows that murder was the primary crime in the overwhelming majority of films throughout the period. Up to the 1960's crime was represented usually as an abnormal, one-off intrusion into a stable order. After that images of an all-pervasive, routinised threat of crime becomes more common (Maguire et. al. 2003, p389). So taken together there is a strong reliance on violent crime in the entertainment media, and an over representation of the same violent crime in the news media.

Ironically this heightening of the fear of crime in society in general might actually lead to increased youth crime, as fear of young people extends to other young people, and this may lead to increased weapon carrying in order to provide protection. In one survey, four percent of young people aged ten to twenty five admitted carrying a knife in the preceding twelve months, and of that four percent, eighty five percent said they carried it for protection and nine percent in case they got into a fight (OCJS 2005). This data is supported by the analysis

from this study of young people in Fairfield, with a higher proportion stating they had carried a knife in the last year, but very similar numbers stating they carried it for protection or to go to a fight. In terms of anti-social behaviour (ASB), a survey by MORI in 2003/4 revealed that young people were more concerned about their peers than older people, with twenty two percent of sixty-five to seventy-four year olds stating young people were a problem but a higher number of thirty three percent of sixteen to twenty-four year olds thinking young people were a problem (Rogers 2010, p16).

This fear of young people is not universal across Europe and appears to be more of a British phenomenon, as indicated by a survey which revealed sixty two percent of Britons would not feel confident intervening to stop a group of fourteen year olds vandalising a bus stop, compared with forty eight percent across Western Europe as a whole (Rogers 2010, p24).

The power of the media however is not a universally accepted viewpoint as demonstrated in an article in the Evening Standard newspaper on 17th September 2010 where Ken Livingstone sought to blame the media for youth deaths by stabbing in London. His defeated rival for the Labour nomination for London Mayor, Oona King, thought the media were not to blame, and Deputy Mayor for Policing Kit Malthouse disagreed so strongly he thought Livingstone should apologise to the families of recently deceased teenagers (Pippa Crerar 2010).

So although not universally accepted there seems little doubt about the power of the media to affect public opinion. This media coverage and subsequent public concern can result in a desire from politicians to deal with any specific matter as a priority, regardless of any facts or statistics. Politicians require the support of the public and so Signorielli's quote mentioned earlier about fearful people being more accepting of apparent harsh legislation appears relevant here and may help explain the next section.

2.4 Government Emphasis

Violent crime is high on the media agenda and high on the political agenda and has been at the forefront of debates about penal policy (Maguire et. al. 2002, p828) and therefore receives much attention in terms of legislation. But in terms of statistical impact for the number of people killed and seriously injured, the number of people involved in road traffic collisions is much more serious. An illustration of this being that in 2009, two thousand two hundred and twenty two were killed on the road (Dept Transport 2009) which greatly exceeded the

number the violent deaths through murders for the same period, which for the year prior up to November 2009 stood at six hundred and fifty one (Guardian 21 Jan 2010). Despite this figure being just over a quarter of the number of road deaths, if numbers of police officers deployed to an issue is an indication of priority for the government, then roads policing is not a priority as police numbers have fallen by eleven point six percent over the last five years prior to January 2012, which was six times greater than for overall police numbers (Brake 2011). BRAKE is an independent road charity dedicated to reducing road deaths and injury. This lack of priority given to roads policing has occurred over several years, and was evident from the governments first published National Policing Plan in 2002 where it was listed as a tier two priority. In evidence given to Parliament's Transport Select Committee in 2003, Richard Brunstrom, Head of Road Policing, Association of Chief Police Officers, said:

"I regret the fact that roads policing is a second tier objective rather than a first tier objective and that has a direct implication on the amount of road policing which will take place" (Brake 2015)

This lack of priority and falling numbers of police officers dedicated to traffic duties is despite international evidence showing enforcement of traffic laws is highly effective in preventing deaths and injuries by deterring drivers from potentially deadly behaviour. Increasing numbers of breath tests, for example, is shown to lead to reductions in drink drive casualties (New Zealand Transportation Research Board 2005).

So statistically it would appear that violence and youth violence should be a long way behind roads policing in terms of government priority if the law is used to protect those within society from death and serious injury. If the government is claiming to concentrate on youth violence in order to prevent death and injury to young people then surely it should concentrate on the statistically most relevant way a young person is killed or injured, but as explained below this is not on the street, but in the home.

One issue when talking about the deaths of young people, is that there is no single source of statistics for the number of children who are killed by another person in the UK, so reliable estimates come from two main sources of the Home Office: figures on homicide, firearm offences and intimate violence statistics and the mortality statistics from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) (NSPCC 2013). On average one or two children are killed each

week, many of these being the result of cruelty within the home. These figures have remained largely the same since 1970, with infants under one being the most likely to be killed, and almost two thirds of all deaths being under five. In 2005/6 parents killed forty four percent of children, a further twenty four percent of children were killed by someone who knew them, with only twelve percent being killed by a stranger (Coleman et. al. 2007). Slightly more recent figures, but from a different source show that in the seventeen month period to the end of August 2008, local authorities in England noted the deaths of two hundred and eighty two children. Two hundred and ten of these deaths were attributable to abuse or neglect (Gilbert 2008). More recent figures from the ONS show no change in the significance of the figures so that in 2011/12 of the forty seven homicide victims aged under sixteen, sixty percent of them were killed by a parent or step parent, and only fifteen percent were killed by a stranger. In terms of the groups most significantly likely to die, it remains those under one and those aged sixteen to twenty nine years.

A further example of governments not concentrating on the most statistically significant areas in terms of death and serious injury caused is seen when looking at how people in society die from unnatural causes. ONS statistics of the reasons for death does not show a picture of violence, but more random unfortunate acts as shown by the mortality statistics for 2011. In that year 3885 were killed by a fall, 3644 by self-harm, 1815 in transport accidents, 242 by exposure to smoke and 175 by accidental drowning (ONS 2013). So it would appear in terms of the number of deaths, that roads policing should be a government priority in terms of legislation and resources rather than violence, or if concentrating on youth deaths, then perhaps concentrating on dealing with the number of deaths and injuries within the home by those known to the young people.

However, although not agreeing on the causes of crime, or which crimes should be a priority, society and the authorities within it, rightly or wrongly have decided youth crime is a problem which needs to be addressed. When doing so, they have fluctuated between punishment and a welfare approach to deal with offenders (Muncie, 2009, p273). Several studies show that dealing post the act or offence is not the most cost effective or efficient way to deal with the problem, indicating it is much cheaper to prevent behaviour than to deal with the consequences of such behaviour once it has occurred (Time for a Fresh Start 2010). With the current economic crisis it is expected that public debt in the UK will head towards around eighty percent of GDP by 2015. To put this into perspective, this is the highest level since the

early 1960s when the UK was still paying off its debts from the Second World War (Price Waterhouse Coopers 2009). It is therefore inevitable that less money will be spent on crime preventative measures and so it is essential that any money spent is put into the most effective projects and interventions. The following chapter will examine how the law has developed to deal with crime and youth crime, and how this is currently working. This will be followed in chapter four by looking at what the author and others believe are factors that influence crime and behaviour, and in chapter five why asking young people is crucial to finding the best way forward.

Chapter 3 - How the law developed to prevent criminal behaviour

3.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter illustrated there is disagreement over the level of crime but when deciding if someone has broken the law, the first point is to establish what is 'the law'? Laws or the control of society have existed for many hundreds of years. In the UK several hundred years ago the law was very different from today, with much difference in treatment by the law depending on the offence and the status of the parties involved. For several hundred years the influence of the church could be seen with offences such as fornication and adultery being prominent, and laws were very much based on 'sin'. An example of this being the different sentence given for fighting in the presence of an archbishop which was twenty five times greater than for fighting in the presence of a commoner (Hibbert 2003, p4). Therefore, when examining the development of thinking in relation to the use of laws and punishment, the context of the society at that time must be taken into account. In Britain the nature of society and how wealth is produced has changed over time moving from a largely agricultural to an industrial society. Therefore the control of that society also changed, and with it, the laws that control society. However, due to time constraints this thesis will not look at the structural political motivation as to why laws may come into existence, as described by Marx and others. For the same reason it will also not look at how those laws are interpreted by the police as they carry out the enforcement of those laws, despite some people arguing that 'the police themselves decide what powers they will exercise and when' (Sanders and Young 2007, p123).

But regardless of disputes over the number of crimes as described in the previous chapter, or disputes over the causes or influences as to why crimes and poor behaviour occur discussed later in this chapter and in the next chapter, governments respond in order to try and prevent crime. There are many and varied criminological theories and a few of these will be examined in this chapter, however the two main paradigm are based on a welfare or a punitive approach, and how governments have interpreted criminological research to form policies and laws will be examined below.

3.2 A Welfare based system

In the early part of the nineteenth century, young people were largely treated no differently to adults, both in terms of treatment by society where they were expected to work from an early age, and treatment in the eyes of the law, where they were dealt with by adult courts, and received similar punishments. Although the attitude to young people became more lenient as society developed with the introduction of youth courts, and a different sentencing policy, on occasions, politicians and government still refer to punishment as being the best option. This more punitive system will be looked at in the following section, however there is a substantial body of research that reveals action to positively affect the decision making process is more effective than coercion and punishment:

‘Offending by young people is associated with, rather than necessarily caused by, numerous social and psychological influences. These might include peer group pressure, a neglectful, inconsistent or abusive parent, poor job prospects, boredom, impulsivity, school absenteeism or exclusion, homelessness, and experimentation with drugs and alcohol. Any purposeful attempt to address offending behaviour must take account of these influences, and the reality of their lived experiences’

(Eadie and Canton 2002, p22).

As new ideas developed, drawing on notions of positivism to understand why people committed crime, it suggested that they might have been influenced by other factors, possibly beyond their control. The idea of a more treatment based model of crime developed giving the possibility to look at the welfare needs of the perpetrator. This coincided with a softening attitude by society towards young people. Towards the end of the nineteenth century they were seen as more vulnerable than adults, with a need to be protected, so separate prisons started to be developed.

Mary Carpenter, who set up a number of reformatories between 1850 and 1870, suggested that it was not prison but training that would prevent youth crime stating:

'proper training can counteract the imposition of poor family life, a corrupt environment and poverty, while at the same time toughening and preparing delinquents for the struggle ahead' (Carpenter 1851).

This is supported by the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, a longitudinal survey of the development of offending and anti-social behaviour since 1961, which noted that low school attainment was amongst the most important childhood risk factors for crime (Farrington et. al., 2006). Similarly, young people who had previously offended cited lack of training or qualifications as the most important factor that contributed towards this behaviour (Communities that Care, 2005). However, this final point was not supported by the thesis where many young people who admitted offending, often on multiple occasions, did not cite this as a reason at all, let alone an important one. Perhaps adult offending is more affected by a lack of education rather than juvenile offending.

This more treatment and welfare led approach, resulted in 1908 to the Children Act also known as the Children's Charter. This introduced child abuse and neglect as a criminal offence, and also created a juvenile court to deal specifically with children, which prevented under fourteen's from going to prison. It created the 1907 Probation of Offenders Act which provided the court with the first non-custodial sentence where offenders could be supervised in the community (Fionda 2005, p36). Also in 1908 'borstals', a type of youth prison, were created to deal with sixteen to twenty-one year olds. The regime in these establishments was designed to be more based on education than punishment, with very little use of physical punishment, but the regime was strict and very regulated.

The move to a more welfare based system continued with the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, which consolidated all existing child welfare legislation for England and Wales. As section forty-four of the Act made clear, every court in dealing with a child or young person who was brought before it, either as an offender or otherwise, shall have regard to the welfare of the child or young person and shall in a proper case take steps for removing him from undesirable surroundings, and for securing that proper provision is made for his education and training. The 1933 Act raised the age of criminal responsibility from seven to eight, prohibited capital punishment for under eighteen year olds, and reorganised the reformatory

and industrial schools, bringing about the creation of 'approved schools'. These provided juvenile offenders with education and training, and remand homes which kept remanded juveniles apart from adult prisoners (Newburn 2007, p727). However in the years leading up to the Second World War, the number of young people in custody continued to rise, and governments continued to look at the how they could reduce this figure. At the end of the 1950's the Ingleby Committee recommended that criminal responsibility should be set at fourteen but this was rejected, and the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 actually set the age at over ten; a brief discussion of the age of responsibility will follow later in this chapter.

Two further government White Papers, 'The Child, the Family and the Young Offender' in 1965 and 'Children in Trouble' in 1968 were followed by the Children and Young Person's Act 1969 which abolished the system of approved schools and remand homes and replaced them with community homes with residential and educational facilities. However, shortly after this Act was passed, the government changed and many of its suggestions were never adopted, such as making the age of criminal responsibility fourteen, except for homicide, and dealing with most young people outside of court. Although care proceedings on the commission of an offence were made possible, such powers were used exceedingly sparingly, and the number of custodial sentences rose from three thousand in 1970 to over seven thousand in 1978. Therefore, although there was a perception in society that due to some of the 1969 Act's clauses the judicial system had become caring and soft, as many clauses were never adopted, in fact, the system had become ever more penal (Maguire et. al. 2002, p551).

3.3 The move to a more punitive system

The 1970's saw the dual approach of more severe punishments for serious offenders and less severe sentences for minor offences. This resulted in the doubling of the use of custody for juveniles with a concomitant decline in the use of community based alternatives, while at the same time the use of cautions increased substantially. This led to the introduction by the then Conservative government in 1980 of the White Paper 'Young Offenders' which included proposals for the limited re-introduction of detention centres with 'tougher' regimes, known as the 'short sharp shock' treatment, which was first mooted by the then Shadow Home Secretary William Whitelaw. However although the rhetoric remained tough on youth crime, the bill that was introduced, the Criminal Justice Act 1982 actually aimed to limit the use of custody for young offenders, as it shortened the detention centre sentences (Maguire et. al. 2002, p552).

In 1988, the Green Paper 'Punishment Custody and the Community' was followed quickly by The Children Act 1989, which separated the functions of juvenile courts from welfare matters, and the Criminal Justice Act 1991, which changed the name of the juvenile court to the youth court and extended its jurisdiction to include seventeen year olds. This act also reduced the maximum term of detention in a young offender institution to twelve months, and brought seventeen year olds within the ambit of S.53 of the Children and Young Person's Act 1933, which gave Crown Court's the power to order longer term detention in respect of certain 'grave' crimes (Maguire et. al. 2002, p555). This appeared to move policy back to the area where young people were 'bad', which coincided with the portrayal of young people as 'jackals' in the media by the government during an anti-theft campaign, and therefore these young criminals needed to be punished and treated harshly (Nesbitt 1993, p44-45). As was discussed earlier when looking at the media, creating a fear makes it easier to control the public and push through what some would regard as more extreme laws.

In 1993 the government were already talking about getting tougher on a new group of young people known as 'persistent young offenders', when a young boy James Bulger was killed by two other boys aged ten in Liverpool. The case received massive national and international coverage and added to the public's perception that policies on youth crime weren't working. There appeared to be little account taken of the fact the two offenders were only ten years old, with the trial taking place in adult court. During the trial, the prosecution successfully rebutted the presumption of *doli incapax*, which was the presumption that children aged ten to fourteen could not automatically be held legally responsible for their actions. This was reflected when possible outcomes of the trial were discussed, and the two main political parties appeared to struggle to be perceived as the toughest on youth crime when discussing the case. An example of this political interference and desire to be seen to be tough on crime came a year after the verdict, when the then Home Secretary Michael Howard, increased the minimum term of imprisonment to fifteen years from ten years, although this was overturned by the courts (Siddique 2010).

But the punitive approach is not the only way to deal with such serious cases, as illustrated by the fact that about a year after this case, in Norway in October 1994, a five year old girl was stripped, stoned and beaten by two young boys resulting in her death. The boys were allowed to return to school, were treated by psychologists, and assisted to fit back in to society. However, although similar there were differences between the two cases. Firstly in Norway

the boys committing the acts were only six, which was below the Norwegian age of criminal responsibility of fifteen. The Bulger case took place in a large city suffering much crime, whereas the Norwegian case was in a small town with a low crime rate, with much more of a sense of community. A significant difference was that in England the two boys were treated as offenders to be punished, but in Norway the boys were largely treated as victims to be cared for. In England, the mother of the victim stated when asked about the boys' imminent release that they had literally 'got away with murder'. In Norway when asked if the boys should be punished the mother of the victim responded 'no', that they had been punished enough by having to live with what they had done, they should be treated like human beings, and they needed to be educated so they could get back into society. As time has moved on, although she still believes this was the right thing to do and that the system in Norway is still better, she does feel let down by the Norwegian system and that the boys have received more help than her family has received. She reacted angrily when her son met one of the boys in town which had a negative effect on him and also said:

'All of my family is suffering. I don't think we've had the same help as the boys had. I have to say that I feel like the criminal today...not the two boys' (BBC News 2010).

In Norway both boys have integrated back into society in the place and with people with which they are familiar. In England after release from custody the boys have been given new identity, moved location, and were asked to integrate back into society in these unfamiliar surroundings. Although one of the boys in Norway has suffered some psychological problems, neither has reoffended, although one does suffer from drug and alcohol issues according to a member of staff at a mission connected to the state church (James and McDougal 2010), but in the UK one of the boys has committed further serious offences.

Some differences between England and Wales and the rest of Europe in terms of criminal justice systems will be discussed briefly below, but in the 'Bulger' case the European Court held that the criminal age of responsibility in England did not in itself deviate from practices on human rights. However, the court found that the suspect's right to a fair trial had been compromised in various ways because of their inability to adequately understand and participate in legal proceedings. Dr Maggie Atkinson, England Children's Commissioner, told the BBC's school report that most offenders under twelve did not understand their actions, and the two boys should not have been tried in adult court. A final point on the

differences in the case would be the media coverage comparison between the UK and Norway. In the UK even today the story receives front page sensationalist headlines but in Norway the 'red top' press took a softer line and after a few weeks stopped reporting the case. Tor Bordo who covered the story for the top selling tabloid VG stated he thought it was more important the boys were given a chance to recover, so they could have a normal life later on (BBC News 2010).

It is unclear exactly what effect the Bulger case had on government thinking, but in 1994 the government introduced the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act which doubled the maximum sentence in young offender institutions for fifteen to seventeen year olds from one year to two. Through sections thirty four to thirty seven it also removed the long established right to silence, and stated that inferences could now be drawn by the prosecution from such silence. This is a fairly fundamental change away from a system where it is for the prosecution to prove a case and where the suspect need say nothing.

Just prior to the election of the new Labour government in 1996, the Audit Commission had produced a report 'Miss-spent Youth' that was damning of the criminal justice system. It was not just the approach to youth justice, but the whole court system it suggested was becoming less efficient, and that 'overall, less is done now than a decade ago to address offending by young people' (Maguire et. al. 2002, p558). Almost immediately upon coming to power in 1997, the new Labour government introduced a White Paper 'No More Excuses', where, as the title suggests the government felt that young people should be responsible for their actions. As the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw, said in his preface to the document:

'An excuse culture has developed within the youth justice system. It excuses itself for its inefficiency, and too often excuses the young offenders before it, implying that they cannot help their behaviour because of their social circumstances. Rarely are they confronted with their behaviour and helped to take more personal responsibility for their actions. The system allows them to go on wrecking their own lives as well as disrupting their families and communities' (Jack Straw 1997).

The paper was quickly followed by the introduction of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA 1998), which established the Youth Justice Board, created Youth Offending Teams, and re-structured the non-custodial sentences available to the youth court. It introduced a 'final warning', for a second caution to end multiple cautioning as well as parenting orders to

encourage parents to take responsibility for their children. It also appeared to move the aim of 'the law' back to Robert Peel's principles from 1829, when he outlined that policing was principally about crime prevention saying:

'The basic mission for which police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime and disorder by military force and severity of legal punishment' (Robert Peel 1829).

Section thirty seven of the CDA 1998 stated that the principal aim of the criminal justice system is to prevent offending by children and young persons. Further that it shall be the duty of all persons and bodies carrying out functions in relation to the youth justice system, to have regard to that aim (UK Government 1998).

There is a view that the Labour government in power between 1997 and 2010 often appeared to be conflicted, sometimes talking tough on crime, but sometimes talking about a welfare approach (Fionda 2006, p55-56). An example is that the Home Office stated:

'punishment is important as a means of expressing society's condemnation of unlawful behaviour and as a deterrent'

But in the same document stated:

'the strongest influences on starting to offend are low parental supervision, persistent truancy, and associating with offenders. Effective intervention to prevent children and young people turning to crime and, if they do, to prevent re-offending, needs to address the causes of offending as well as punishing the offender' (Home Office cited in Fionda 2005, p56).

One of the tenants of 'New Labour' was 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime'. Labour were going to deal with the wave of crime and specifically youth crime, but as was discussed under the perception of young people, are each generation of young people really that different? In America young people being seen as rebellious possibly started in the 1950's with the release of the film 'The Wild One', closely followed by Bill Haley's 'Rock around the Clock'. It is suggested it started a few years later in the UK in 1964 with the fights between 'mods' and 'rockers' in Brighton, and has gone on ever since with 'football

hooligans', 'ravers', 'new age travellers' and more recently 'hoodies'. Despite this and other previous recent governments, such as 'new labour', suggesting youth are out of control, in reality the first sign of youth culture in the UK goes back many years to at least Victorian times, where in the mid 1850's, gangs known as 'Scuttlers' in Manchester and the 'Peaky Blinders' in Birmingham, existed. A Scuttler was described as a lad, usually between fourteen and eighteen who fought with an opposing band of youths, who were armed with various weapons (Devine 1890), which sounds very like the description of today's 'gangs'. So perhaps the need to 'deal' with youth crime is more a need to deal with the media perception of that crime and the political ramifications of failing to do so rather than the reality of it.

The current government has continued with the theme of control and punishment indicated by the belief of the current Home Secretary, Theresa May who stated the only police target she was interested in was catching criminals. Interestingly and seeming to disagree is the current Chief Inspector of Constabulary Tom Windsor who thinks that the police 'should focus more on preventing crime than catching criminals' (Travis 2013). Bringing this debate from 1829 up to 2014 with no apparent agreement it would therefore seem appropriate to look briefly at some of the theories behind current government policy and examine if they are indeed working.

3.4 Current Government policy

Support for a government believing in strong deterrents comes from Van den Haag who strongly believed in the role of punishment as part of the efficacy of deterrence and a reaffirmation of the existence of individual free will and responsibility. He argued that citizens' liberties fundamentally rested on the meeting out of retributive punishments to those who threaten such liberties (Van den Haag, 1975, p3). He argues that the task is not to live without punishment but to devise a system where punishments, including the death penalty, can be just and effective (Van den Haag, 1975, p265). He also thought that being certain of punishment only deters a person from crime if the punishment is sizeable (Van den Haag 1975, p115). Van den Haag dismisses discussion of factors concerning the causation of crime as 'fascinating' but not relevant to immediate crime control. This is an argument supported by Wilson who dismisses the search for the causes of crime as utopian:

‘Though intellectually rewarding, from a practical point of view it is a mistake to think about crime in terms of its causes and then to search for ways of alleviating those causes. We must think instead of what it is feasible for a government or community to do....wicked people exist. Nothing avails except to set them apart from innocent people’
(Wilson 1975, p233-235)

An example of previous Tory party support for such views would be in the 1990’s where both the then Prime Minister John Major and the then Home Secretary Michael Howard suggested that ‘we should understand less and condemn more’ and ‘crime is caused by criminals’ (Fionda 2005, p35). Interestingly although dismissive of positivist theories, in a later work with Hernstein, Wilson suggests that personality traits might be a key factor in criminality especially if combined with the person living in a ‘discordant family’. The author would agree with Wilson that most crime is a choice but where-as he appears to ignore his own arguments concerning factors in people’s lives, the author fundamentally disagrees with his dismissal of such factors in people’s lives having no effect. Ironically the same Conservative government that produced the above quotes was responsible for a research study which contradicts them produced by the Home Office in 1996 concerning reducing criminality amongst young people. In the report it stated;

‘Criminological research spread over half a century has demonstrated with considerable consistency that there are influences in the backgrounds of children and young people that make it more, or less likely, that they will behave anti-socially or commit crime.....research has identified a number of risk factors and whilst these cannot individually be said to ‘cause’ delinquency, they can help identify the most promising areas for practical intervention initiatives’ (Home Office 1996, p81)

Accepting that some positivist theories might have some credence Gottfredson and Hirschi attempted to move the argument on by stating that if such factors do exist what differentiates those who commit crime from those that don’t is self-control. They argue that what effects that self-control are issues in society such as ineffective child rearing, poor parental supervision and discipline, working mothers and broken families: in short, a lack of self-control in the home (Muncie 2009, p143).

Such right realist policies the author would argue is what previous recent governments and the current government bases its criminal justice system on. For example rational choice theory suggested by Felson relies on for a crime to occur the criminal to have an opportunity for crime and to consider both the chances of being caught and the penalty should he be apprehended.

What Cohen and Felson, two prominent proponents of this theory stated in 1979, was that for a crime to occur there needed to be three elements, a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian (Tilley 2002, p204). Like other control theories there is no real effort to discover the motivation behind the motivated offender, more an acceptance that crime is embedded in everyday life, i.e. 'we would all do it if we could get away with it'. So crime has been affected by everyday developments, such as valuable items becoming smaller, more portable and therefore easier to steal and figures show that many robberies of school children involve mobile phones, a problem only developing over the last twenty years. Another example being TV's that are now much smaller and easier to carry and therefore steal. The development of the internet has also meant that the criminal can be on the other side of the world whilst committing crimes.

The author is aware through his police work that this argument has some merit. When dealing with known football 'hooligans' he spoke to older men and asked them why they had stopped 'getting involved'. They replied in the old days if you didn't get arrested on the day you were fine, but these days CCTV meant that you might get a 'knock on the door' several months later. They were also conscious that if convicted their punishment would be greater than normal due to it being related to football violence. These arguments were advanced by those supporting situational crime prevention such as Ronald Clarke, whose proponents seek to reduce opportunities for crime, indeed this has been a major criticism of such work in that it seeks to explain the occurrence of crime as opposed to the development of criminality.

The above section looked at how the law on youth crime has developed and some of the criminological theories on which this current government base its laws and policies. The next section below will look at whether such policies are effective.

3.5 Is current policy working

3.5.1 Introduction: The above policies all generally accept that crime in general, and youth crime, happens as a result of a free rational choice. As a result policy concentrates on control theories, situational crime prevention and trying to ‘target harden’ areas, together with punitive sentences as part of prevention or if other prevention fails. But the author would argue such a policy is flawed, as the motivation of some may be too strong to be affected by these punitive measures and the thesis suggests an example of this would be young people involved in knife crime, as discussed below under harsh sentencing. The government likes control theories as it is able to suggest to people that surmise that there are several strong risk factors for crime that they are mistaken and there is no such causal link. They ask the question why did crime generally continue to rise when several of the ‘triggers’ for crime such as poverty, educational failure and unemployment were improving? (Newburn 2007, p287). Those factors will be examined in the next chapter but the main tenants of control theories and right realism such as harsh sentencing, imprisonment, and other interventions used by Youth Offending Services will be examined below. As the author is suggesting the criminal justice system in England and Wales is not as effective as it should and could be, the final part of the chapter will look at a suggested possible alternative system, as well as examining whether the current age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales is correct, especially in light of the section on brain development and mental maturity in the following chapter.

3.5.2 Harsh sentencing: One example where the author would suggest that an ever longer maximum sentence, or a proposed mandatory prison sentence for a second offence, is not and will not work is knife crime. In the past decade the number of twelve year olds convicted of having an article with a blade or a point in a public place doubled, while the number of eleven year olds convicted has risen four fold. Young people in a survey identified other young people not carrying a knife as deserving of an injury that happened to them, i.e. ‘they got what they deserved’ (MOJ 2011). This was a sentiment echoed by some of the young people interviewed who attended the pupil referral unit, and meant that although most acknowledged the dangers of carrying a knife, they generally said they would continue to carry a knife if they felt the need, regardless of the maximum sentence. This could be that they do not feel that society or the police can protect them, with more than half of young offenders feeling the police cannot protect them from violent crime in their area (Golding et. al. 2008).

An opposing view would point to possession of a firearm where changes in legislation over the last few years to make maximum sentences more severe saw offences fall quite considerably immediately after (Home Office 2012). Regardless of the length of sentence the possession of knives or firearms will possibly result in a custodial sentence. Without making any comment on the appropriate length of sentence, when young people go to prison, does it work? For the purpose of this thesis 'does it work' refers to whether it works to prevent young people re-offending, rather than a punishment, as there is not time to discuss the latter point.

3.5.3 Imprisoning young people. Prison: The Justice Committee for Parliament thought the use of custody for young people was still an area of concern. It could be argued that due to re-offending rates prison does not work and also that the low age of criminal responsibility and the number of young people in custody means that although the UK Government claims to adhere to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and in particular Article 37b where, detention or imprisonment of a child shall be, 'used only as a measure of last resort', as a jurisdiction, it is currently in breach of the UNCRC (1989a) (Howard League 2009).

There was an acknowledgement by the Justice Committee of Parliament that there will always be a need to incarcerate some individuals, and an acknowledgement that the number of young people subject to a custodial sentence had reduced substantially since 2008. The Justice Committee is one of nineteen select committees appointed by the House of Commons. Its role is to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Ministry of Justice and associated public bodies as well as the administration and expenditure of the Attorney General's Office, the Treasury Solicitor's Department, the Crown Prosecution Service and the Serious Fraud Office. The committee has members from all political parties and has freedom to choose the subjects it wishes to enquire about. In effect it examines the efficiency of all aspects of the criminal justice system, and recently choose to look at the whole system, which it said had not been examined since 1998. The use of the report, produced in 2013 and its findings seemed appropriate as it is a cross party committee and has examined all of the areas being discussed in this thesis involving the criminal justice system.

Whilst acknowledging the need for prison some areas of concern were identified such as the fact that the juvenile secure estate continues to receive two-thirds of Youth Justice Board spending, yet is responsible for only a fraction (six point seven percent in 2011/12) of young offenders given a court disposal. Also the collateral damage of imprisonment is considerable with many young people whilst in prison losing their home, their job, and contact with their family. This is damaging not only to individual offenders but also to society as whole, which pays the price in a variety of ways for not reducing reoffending.

The number of young black men in custody has not declined to the same extent as in the white population and too many young people end up in custody for breaching a statutory order. In order to cement recent reductions in young people held in custody the Justice Committee for Parliament recommended the Ministry of Justice introduce a statutory threshold, based on the Canadian criminal justice model, to enshrine in legislation the principle that only the most serious and prolific offenders should be placed in custody. However the government response was that there are already adequate safeguards to ensure that a custodial sentence is imposed only where an offence is so serious that neither a community sentence nor a fine alone can be justified, and where a youth rehabilitation order with intensive supervision and surveillance or with intensive fostering is also not justified (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013).

Slightly paradoxically, in a further response to the committee, the government also agreed custody was costly and ineffective and it therefore sought proposals from a wide range of organisations and individuals on implementing its plans for putting quality education at the heart of detention.

The proven re-offending rate for juvenile offenders released from custody between October 2011 and September 2012, which were the latest figures, was sixty eight point two percent. This represents a fall of four point two per cent compared to the previous twelve months and a fall of eight point six percent since 2000 (MoJ July 2014). However when this is compared with the rate for those who receive a caution or do not receive a custodial sentence after arrest, which is thirty five point four percent for the same period, it can be seen that for re-offending prison does not appear to be the most effective option. Regardless of whether your

belief is that prison works or doesn't work, there seems little doubt that prison is not being proportionately and fairly used in relation to certain groups.

Disproportionate imprisonment: The McPherson report detailed institutionalised racism within the Metropolitan Police, and the ramifications of the Stephen Lawrence case were still being felt in 2014. In terms of non-white young people within the criminal justice system, according to an article in the Guardian on 26th November 2011, the government's own statistics highlight the greater likelihood of going to prison for certain offences if the perpetrator is non-white, according to an analysis of more than one million court records. The study, found black offenders were forty four percent more likely than white offenders to be sentenced to prison for driving offences, thirty eight percent more likely to be imprisoned for public disorder or possession of a weapon and twenty seven percent more likely for drugs possession. Asian offenders were forty one percent more likely to be sent to prison for drugs offences than their white counterparts and nineteen percent more likely to go to jail for shoplifting. Frances Done, chair of the Youth Justice Board, who is working with the Magistrates' Association on disparities in sentencing, told the Guardian that she fears the "disproportionality appears to be getting worse". She added:

'As the numbers in youth custody have gone down, the proportion of those from black and ethnic backgrounds has gone up. We don't get the view that this is about deliberate discrimination but because of practices that have not been thought through' (Ball, Bowcott and Rogers 2011).

The situation does not appear to have improved as a recent report published in November 2013 by the MoJ, detailing statistics on race and the criminal justice system, highlighted the continued difference in how non-white young people are treated within the criminal justice system, in what some perceive as institutional racism within the judiciary. One example was the average custodial sentence length by offence, and self-defined ethnicity, indicated a longer sentence for black prisoners sexual offences, violence against the person, burglary, robbery, theft and handling stolen goods and drug offences (MoJ 2013). The government acknowledged the problem of over representation of black males in the criminal justice system and stated it was working to deal with it, especially by the use of early intervention. Once in the youth justice system, the government states there are a number of measures that have been or are being taken that are expected to impact on the over-representation of young

black men in custody. It acknowledged that they are not specifically targeted at addressing this issue and are aimed at tackling routes into custody where young black men are disproportionately represented. However evidence appears to indicate that there will be little or no money being spent on early intervention in the forthcoming years and it seems that the situation is not altering or improving, and so in the words of Einstein “if you do what you always did, you will get what you always got”. It appears very specific action is warranted to address the issues in this area.

Regardless of whether the young person receives a custodial or community sentence they will come under the supervision and support of the YOS, so it is important the procedures in this multi-agency group work, and some of these procedures will be examined in the next section.

3.5.4 Youth Offending Service procedures:

Assessment tools: To ensure all young people are dealt with correctly it is important their needs are correctly assessed in the initial contact with YOS staff. The Asset tool used by YOS staff had been criticised as not ‘fit for purpose’, by such people as the Justice Committee and so a new tool called AssetPlus was to be introduced. Unfortunately a manager within YOS in Fairfield stated it had not been introduced in Fairfield as of September 2014 and he had spoken to the YJB who could give him no timetable for its introduction. However the Justice Committee welcomed the introduction of the new form stating:

‘it would be highly preferable both for the young people concerned and for the taxpayer if support needs were identified far sooner, in order to trigger earlier intervention. Where this does not happen, it is important that the youth justice system has access to the tools and staff capable of identifying needs and intervening at that stage. All children should be properly assessed for impairments, vulnerabilities and health issues, including, where necessary, neuropsychological assessments for brain injury, both on initial contact with the youth justice system and on entry into custody’ (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013).

The committee did however point out that the revised assessment process remains inappropriate for young people with communication needs, as it is still verbally mediated, and consider whether England and Wales can learn from the e-learning assessment tool piloted in Northern Ireland. The government responded that the YJB has been working with the Department of Health on the Comprehensive Health Assessment Tool (CHAT), which is

currently being rolled out across the youth justice system. As part of this tool, practitioners will routinely screen for Speech, Language and Communication needs along with other conditions which can result in such a deficit, such as Autism and Acquired / Traumatic Brain Injury. As mentioned when discussing ability of YOS staff to recognise a behavioural issue there are major concerns over lack of training for YOS staff regarding emotional wellbeing and therefore the same concerns exist over the availability of similar training in this area. A manager at the Fairfield YOS when questioned about this stated that to his knowledge none of the staff are trained in recognising such need, and there were no plans to initiate such training. According to him and some other YOS staff in Fairfield, it is unlikely that the introduction of AssetPlus will resolve any of these issues.

Continuing in the theme of assessing need the Justice Committee recommended that all youth offending teams and secure institutions should have access to speech and language therapists through a more systematic commissioning process. The government responded that the Health and Social Care Act 2012 established new arrangements for commissioning health services from 1 April 2013. Health services for YOS will be commissioned by Clinical Commissioning Groups. In May 2012, the YJB, jointly with the Department of Health, published a 'Health and Wellbeing Needs Assessment toolkit' to support the engagement of youth justice services in the new health commissioning process. Again, having spoken to YOS staff in Fairfield, the author has doubts about sufficient funding being allocated to this area to ensure sufficient training for staff, and the manager stated that currently there were no such commissioning arrangements in the Fairfield YOS.

Out of court disposals: Out-of-court disposals can provide a proportionate means of dealing with less serious youth offending. Whilst acknowledging this and the greater discretion afforded by the new youth caution the Justice Committee stressed the importance of safeguards to ensure its proper use, to help maintain public confidence in it, particularly in cases of repeat offending. The government responded that the YJB and the government believed that increased co-operation between YOS and partners will prevent a repeat of the issues with previous cautioning interventions of repeat and multiple cautioning. One possibility is that someone receiving a caution may be recommended for a restorative justice intervention, and restorative justice (RJ) will be discussed below.

Restorative Justice: The Justice Committee welcomed the Government's commitment to restorative justice; however it believed more should be done to make restorative justice integral to the youth justice system:

'As the Northern Irish experience demonstrates, restorative justice is not a "soft option" and can in fact contribute to greater public confidence in the justice system. We were very impressed by the extremely high levels of victim satisfaction in relation to youth conferencing in Northern Ireland as well as the high level of compliance with conference plans. We advocate a presumption that the sentencing process will include a restorative element for the vast majority of offenders at all levels of the system, as an addition to, rather than a replacement for, the range of other requirements that may be considered necessary by the courts. The Government should also consider how young offenders with speech, language and communication needs who might benefit from restorative justice can be better assisted in participating in such a process.'

The government responded:

'that the YJB is committed to widening the use of restorative justice across all parts of the youth justice system, and as part of this work, has provided a grant to every Youth Offending Team to support the cost of training two staff members as restorative justice conference facilitator trainers. These individuals will cascade restorative justice training to other staff and volunteers working within the YOT, and this current training programme will significantly increase the opportunities to provide restorative justice within the youth justice system. It is the role of facilitators to ensure that they are taking account of any special needs that anyone attending the restorative meeting may have to ensure that each person can fully participate in the process. Over the year ahead, the YJB will be looking at ways to further embed restorative justice practices, and we will be looking specifically at widening the use of restorative justice in custody' (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013).

The success of the RJ process in Northern Ireland, where it has been part of the criminal justice process for over ten years has been acknowledged in two independent reports. Although the government is allegedly now slowly introducing RJ into the process in England and Wales the issues of lack of training and budget together with a lack of 'selling' such a policy to the public would be major concerns.

An interesting development in restorative justice is its increasing use in school discipline. It promotes telling the truth, taking responsibility, acknowledging harm as an appropriate response to conflict and in doing so creates accountability. It not only allows the harmer to see the impact of their behaviour but also allows the 'harmed' person the opportunity to see if they contributed to the conflict in any way by their own behaviour. It has been used in school 1 for almost the whole of the last academic year and in assessments so far has been judged to be very successful at helping to dissolve conflict and improve behaviour in the school.

One diversionary intervention that the YOS, Local Authority and police rely on to prevent people becoming involved in crime and ASB is sport, with much success claimed for police interventions like 'Kickz' involving football, and others involving rugby and cricket.

Recreation and Sport: Involvement or engrossment in conventional activities is often part of a theory of control. One of the assumptions is that a person may be simply too busy doing conventional things to find time to engage in deviant behaviour (Newburn 2007, p232). The person involved in conventional activities is tied to appointments, deadlines and plans so the opportunity to commit deviant acts rarely arises. To the extent that he is engrossed in conventional activities, he cannot even think about the deviant acts, let alone act out his inclinations. This line of reasoning is responsible for the stress placed on recreational facilities in many programmes to reduce delinquency, for much of the concern with high school drop outs, and the idea boys should be drafted into the Army to keep them out of trouble. It was argued that it is obvious and persuasive that involvement in conventional activities is a major deterrent to delinquency by Edwin Sutherland who said:

'In the general area of juvenile delinquency it is probable that the most significant difference between juveniles who engage in delinquency and those who do not is that the latter are provided abundant opportunities of a conventional type for satisfying their recreational interests, while the former lack those opportunities or facilities' (Sutherland 1956,p37).

Recreation often means some sort of sports activity, and there is a presumption in society that participation in sports has positive effects in addition to the physical and mental health benefits. Few studies have examined whether there is any basis for sports having a correlation with delinquent acts. For example, in 1990 Robins reviewed eleven schemes designed

specifically to use sport as a means of diverting young people from criminal behaviour and concluded that “information about outcomes was hard to come by...” (Home Office 1997). A review of Australian outdoor programmes for young offenders came to the same conclusion that “there is a lack of substantial evidence regarding which factors are most likely to have a lasting effect on particular types of youth and which specific elements are most crucial in generating observed behavioural and attitudinal change” (Reddrop, 1997,p49). Similarly, while developing an argument for the public subsidy of sports programmes aimed at reducing crime, the authors found that “hard evidence in support of a relationship between involvement in sport and a reduction in anti-social behaviour, hard to come by” (Gratton and Taylor: 1991). This impression was confirmed by Utting (1996) in a review of programmes in the UK, including several using sport. Also, where there is evidence of a positive effect there is further evidence that the positive outcomes of such programmes cease as soon as the activity stops, suggesting that positive outcomes require ongoing provision (Jones and Offord 1989)

There is even a possibility that participating in sporting programmes could increase the likelihood that youths will engage in delinquent activity (Hawkins 1998). For example, parents may have less contact with their children due to their participation in sporting programs. This could weaken the parents’ influence on the children’s behaviour, leading to engagement in greater amounts of delinquency. Also the attitude of some coaches and parents may encourage deviant behaviour and a lack of respect for the rules by a ‘win at all costs’ attitude. Therefore perhaps due to the nature of sport played in this country, which require, encourage and value a competitive attitude in order to ‘win’, sport could have a negative effect.

There are alternatives to the type of games traditionally played in the UK, and not all cultures value competition to choose a ‘winner’. A summary of Burridges 1957 study of the Tangu people in New Guinea provides an interesting example. They play a popular game known at taketak, which involves two teams throwing a spinning top into a massed lot of stakes in the ground, but the participants play to draw, not win. The game must go on until an exact draw is reached. This requires great skill, since players must sometimes throw their tops into the massed stakes without touching a single one. Taketak expresses a prime value in Tangu culture, that is, the concept of moral equivalency (Jay Coackley 1994: p90).

So to summarise sport as an intervention the research does not conclusively “prove” that recreation prevents delinquency, although there is evidence to suggest that it may make a contribution to prevention when it is guided by appropriate theories and research. In contrast there is research which indicates that there is no evidence it works or that the intervention only works when it is in progress and its effects quickly stop working if the activity is stopped (Jones and Offord 1989). The thesis analysis strongly disagrees with the premise that leisure prevents delinquency and neither the quantitative or qualitative data suggests such a link, and as one young man put it “I play football then I go and commit a robbery”.

However young people participate in activities for other reasons than behavioural control and a report from the US found that participation in youth activities was linked to improvements in attitudes to school, attendance and discipline, avoidance of drugs and alcohol, an increase in awareness of safe sex, development of skills for coping with peer pressure and improved self-esteem (Harvard, 2003). So there may be good reasons for young people to play sport and become involved in other leisure activities, but with virtually no budget for preventative measures, there is little evidence for such activities to be paid for out of YOS or prevention budgets.

Summary on YOS procedures: The problem with youth justice is that the public do not understand the youth justice process and are often critical of its perceived leniency (Jacobson and Kirby 2012, p2). However, when the system is explained they often accept the need for a wide variety or more caring interventions. This is why the public’s misconception of youth behaviour fuelled by the media is an important issue. In terms of the government’s expectation of more co-operation between partners the author would suggest that funding cut backs in the budgets of all partners will mean that this does not happen and is not realistic. An example of this would be that in Fairfield the police used to staff the YOS with a Police Inspector two days a week, a Sergeant and two officers full time. Both the Inspector’s and Sergeant’s responsibilities have now been given to officers not specifically attached to the partnership and who have many other roles to perform within their ‘day jobs’, although the workload has not changed.

Clearly there are some issues with a service designed to help young offenders, but perhaps a bigger question is who should be a ‘youth offender’. Brain development and mental maturity

will be discussed in the next chapter. Looking at rates of development and maturity there appear to be strong arguments to change the age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales as discussed below.

3.5.5 Age of criminal responsibility: The Crime Disorder Act 1998 abolished the distinction in England and Wales with regard to criminal responsibility between young persons aged at least fourteen and children aged between ten and fourteen. Previously children in this age range were presumed not to know the difference between right and wrong, and therefore to be incapable of committing a crime because they lacked the necessary criminal intent, known as *doli incapax*, which in Latin means 'incapable of deceit'. The presumption could be rebutted if the prosecution could show, beyond reasonable doubt, that the child concerned had 'mischievous discretion'; that is, that they were aware that their actions were 'seriously wrong' as opposed to merely 'naughty' or 'mischievous'. It is interesting that this change was introduced despite the Ingleby report recommending the age of criminal responsibility should be raised from ten years to twelve to fourteen, as far back as the sixties. This view was supported by the Law Lords in the mid-nineties who stressed their anxieties over the low age of criminal responsibility without *doli incapax*, when they recommended a review of these matters in *C v DPP* 1995 (UK Parliament 2009). This view was supported by the Parliamentary Commission on Families and Wellbeing of Children, which stated that in its view an effective and credible criminal justice system requires that the rights and interests of victims, offenders and communities be held in appropriate equilibrium and that this balance is not being met in the current criminal justice system, as exemplified by the Crime and Disorder Act. When children commit offences it is right for them to be accountable for their actions, according to their age and understanding (UK Parliament 2009).

As will be shown in the next chapter there is much research about the development of the brain which shows it is not complete until the age of twenty five. This change in the law does appear at odds with this evidence and also has given England and Wales one of the lowest age of criminal responsibility, in both Europe and the world.

There is vast variation across the world looking at the age of criminal responsibility and even across Europe there is wide variety. In Switzerland the age is seven, in the Netherlands twelve, France thirteen, Italy and Germany fourteen, in all Scandinavian countries it is fifteen, Spain sixteen and Belgium eighteen. There is a consensus that children below a

minimum age are too young to be held responsible for breaking the law, just no consensus on what that age should be. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC), to which most countries are signed up to, with one notable exception being the USA, urges but does not require states to have a minimum age. But other international standards such as the minimum rules for the administration of juvenile justice known as the 'Beijing rules' recommends setting a minimum age and that it should not be set too low, taking into account emotional, mental, and intellectual maturity. But there is no consensus on what is 'too low' and what the appropriate age of criminal responsibility should be. However the UN Committee on the Rights of a Child has tended to criticise jurisdictions with a minimum age of twelve or below, and has specifically urged the UK government to giving serious consideration to raising the age of criminal responsibility (Justice 1996, p7). The low age of criminal responsibility could be at least partly responsible for the fact that in England and Wales, we lock up more young people than any other country in Europe. Four times more than Portugal, twenty five times more than Belgium, and one hundred times more than Finland, and as the report by a Parliamentary Group states the earlier a child is drawn into the system the greater the chance they will re-offend, and of creating an antecedent history that will lead to further custodial sentences (All Party Parliamentary Group for Children Report 2010 p10). This Group consists of ninety two members from both houses that make up parliament, and from all parties. Another contributory factor in high custodial numbers in England and Wales is the number of young people on remand, which makes up twenty eight percent, despite the fact that evidence shows fifty seven percent of young offenders on remand do not go on to receive a custodial sentence (MoJ 2010).

However, it is also important to realise that this argument is not just about the age of responsibility, it is also about considering maturity, as although Scotland at age eight has a low age of responsibility, its system is still largely based on a welfare model run through a system of children's panels, and young people under twelve will not be prosecuted. To compare other European countries, Holland and Scandinavian countries take into account young adult maturity when sentencing. In Switzerland young adults can be treated like juveniles until they are twenty five. In Sweden, a different fine system exists to differentiate between the ages and in the Czech Republic, a sentence is reduced by a quarter if the defendant is close to the juvenile age. In Germany since 1953 all adults, aged eighteen to twenty one, can be dealt with either as adults or youths in terms of sentencing, but will be dealt with by the youth system. This will be judged by an assessment of the emotional

development of the suspect, and the Supreme Federal Court has stated this will depend on if his/her personality is still developing. This ruling supports the above mentioned Marburg guidelines, which state a person should be considered a juvenile in their moral and psychological development, if they lack the ability to plan for the future, cannot make independent decisions, reflect rationally on their feelings or think in appropriate time frames. Other factors which may suggest a juvenile status, include a certain helplessness, which is frequently masked by deviance and arrogance, naive or overly trusting behaviour, a tendency to 'live for the moment', a pronounced need to depend or lean on others, a flippant or offhand attitude towards work, a tendency to daydream and impulsive behaviour (Transition to Adulthood 2010). Even in the US where many would see a harsh criminal justice and penal system, maturity of a person has fairly recently been taken into account. In *Roper v Simmons* (2005) the US Supreme Court held it was unconstitutional to impose capital punishment on under eighteen year olds, citing less maturity of the person as the reason. In *Graham v Florida* (2010), it was stated that under eighteen year olds could not be given life without parole for non-homicide offences, again citing a lack of maturity as the reason.

The current system in England and Wales considers a person still at primary school could be judged in exactly the same way in terms of a mental capacity to commit crime, as a fully formed and developed adult. The report by the All Party Parliamentary Group for Children Report (APPGC) mentioned above also pointed out the inconsistencies in the approach of courts towards young people. In care proceedings the court will assign a guardian to act in the child's best interests and speak on their behalf. A child cannot have a direct role in proceedings until they reach a sufficient age, which is usually between thirteen and fifteen, depending on the child (All Party Parliamentary Group for Children Report 2010, p11). This is an example of both where a young person is deemed not to have sufficient mental capacity to represent themselves, but also of where the system is prepared to acknowledge that young people develop mentally at different rates. In Judicial Review or Personal Injury matters, a child under eighteen has no right to bring proceedings, unless through a litigation friend. Across the judicial process children are viewed as not having the maturity to be directly involved until they reach fourteen years old. Indeed within family law competency to make decisions is decided by the individual's level of maturity as decided by the 'Gillick test'. This test came out of a case deciding on a child's ability to decide on contraception, which went to the House of Lords. In his judgement Lord Scarman stated:

‘...it is not enough that she should understand the nature of the advice which is being given: she must also have a sufficient maturity to understand what was involved’ (NSPCC 2014).

This principal appears to be exactly what was removed from the criminal justice system by the Crime and Disorder Act. If an adult charged with a criminal offence was deemed to have a mental age of ten, they would possibly be deemed unfit to stand trial on the grounds of diminished responsibility, yet a child of this age can stand trial, and in an adult court for a serious offence. The contrast for young people is that they are considered to be capable of dealing with the consequences of their actions (All Party Parliamentary Group for Children Report 2010 p11). The discrepancies in the way maturity is treated by the law is illustrated by the fact that a child is deemed to have sufficient maturity to make the decision to commit crime at ten, but the permission of a parent is required concerning the teaching of sex education to young people up to the age of eighteen in school.

In other areas, mostly when it appears to benefit them, such as benefit payments, the government is happy to deal with young people differently according to age, with different payment levels for the minimum wage based on age. As was discussed earlier, housing and accommodation is important in preventing crime, yet the law is not clear if someone under eighteen can even hold a tenancy agreement, and according to the Assistant Director of Housing in Fairfield, if they do manage to gain such an agreement there is a high tenancy failure rate for this group, often due to a lack of maturity. According to her this failure to maintain a tenancy may also be due to benefit being restricted for people under the age of thirty five, with no discretion for people being released from prison or dealing with substance abuse.

The current government may argue that a low age of responsibility is appropriate as the CDA 1998 also introduced an apparently joined up criminal justice administration, where the welfare of the young person would be considered by several agencies. Partners working together, including the police, social workers, health workers, education workers and a probation officer, for the welfare of the young person and the community (Newburn 2007, p731). The author is aware, having had responsibility for the police side of the Fairfield YOS for three years, that the primary body introduced so partners could work together needs much improvement to be truly ‘fit for purpose’. As has been previously identified in the report,

recognising behavioural problems is one of the key requirements to ensure an effective package on intervention. From a survey of over half of the YOS in England and Wales, it was revealed that disability awareness training is not routinely available to YOS staff with fewer than fifty percent of staff saying they had access to such training (Talbot 2010), with again Fairfield staff not receiving such training. Within this report there is a critique of the ASSET and ONSET forms used by all YOS and although both are acknowledged as reasonably effective tools to identify risk of offending, they do not help identify the various conditions that may contribute to the behaviour (Talbot 2010). As was previously mentioned, CAMHS referrals were a problem, but this survey identified a further issue concerning the treatment of mental health in that several YOS workers complained that either the threshold was too high to get a service from CAMHS, or they would give advice but it was often hard to actually get a case opened, or referral accepted.

The difference in levels of maturity was noted by the Justice Committee who stated in recommendation seven:

‘We also note strong neurological evidence that individuals mature at different rates and can continue to develop relevant attributes, such as consequential thinking, into their early twenties. We therefore encourage the Sentencing Council to continue with its approach of including age and/or lack of maturity where it affects the responsibility of the offender as a factor in offence guidelines, and reviews at an appropriate juncture the extent to which sentencers are taking maturity into account. Probation officers should make more references to maturity in pre-sentence reports, to assist in this process. Until it is more fully reflected across offence guidelines, we recommend that the Ministry of Justice encourage the Sentencing Council to draw up an overarching set of principles for the sentencing of young adults, to allow for maturity to be taken into account in more circumstances’ (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013).

The government responded that at present the MoJ considered that the single sentencing framework that applies to all adults to be sufficient, and it is not appropriate or necessary to recommend the substantial work necessary in further differentiating a sentencing regime for young adults. In response to a letter from the author to his local MP, Mr Crispin Blunt MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Justice reiterated on behalf of the government it

had no plans to look at the age of criminal responsibility. He stated the current guidelines for sentencing of youths issued in November 2009 was sufficient to deal with all such matters.

The laws of England and Wales go back several hundred years and have constantly changed over this period. The criminological research that has driven some of this change of the last two hundred years has been based on ideas thought to have some merit at the time, but since discredited. Many of the rules and laws currently on the statute books were devised before scientific developments, such as MRI scanners, were utilised. There is much evidence that the human brain rather than being fully developed at twelve as was once thought, actually for both behavioural and cognitive development continues through “emerging adulthood”, up to the age of twenty five. It therefore appears reasonable to the author to consider such evidence when deciding on an age of criminal responsibility, which at the moment the government do not appear to be doing. The next section will look not merely at a change to the age of responsibility but at a complete alternative to the current youth justice system in England and Wales.

3.5.6: An alternative system: If there are problems with the current system of youth justice in England and Wales is there an alternative? The Justice Committee mentioned the Canadian youth justice system in its response to sentencing of young people but the author would suggest that many of the issues and problems of the current system could be solved by adopting the Canadian system in its entirety. Before a change the Canadian system appeared to have many of the issues and problems identified by various reports about the youth criminal justice in England and Wales. These were improved by a single piece of legislation, the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) which is the law that now governs Canada’s youth justice system. It applies to youths who are at least twelve but under eighteen years old, and who are alleged to have committed criminal offences. On April 1st 2003, the YCJA came into force, completely replacing the previous legislation. The YCJA introduced significant reforms to address concerns about how the youth justice system had evolved under the previous legislation. These concerns included the overuse of the courts and incarceration in less serious cases, disparity and unfairness in sentencing, a lack of effective reintegration of young people released from custody, and the need to better take into account the interests of victims (Canadian Department of Justice 2013). As has been discussed in this thesis, it could be argued the current system in England and Wales currently suffers from all of these issues and the principals of this Act would work very well here. The beginning of the Canadian Act

contains a declaration of what the spirit of the Act is about, and this spirit is then reflected in specific policies, the most important ones are as follows, with a more detailed description provided in appendix four:

Increase the use of Extra Judicial measures: The YCJA contains provisions to increase the appropriate use of extrajudicial measures for less serious offences.

Conferencing: Although conferences were held before the new Act, they were further encouraged by the new legislation. Under the legislation, a conference is defined as a group of people brought together to give advice to a police officer, judge, justice of the peace, prosecutor, provincial director or youth worker who is required to make a decision under the YCJA.

Pre-Trial detention of Young People: Prior to the YCJA, there was considerable evidence that pre-trial detention was being over-used, which has been drastically reduced.

Youth Sentencing: Prior to the YCJA, Canada had one of the highest youth incarceration rates in the Western world. Youth sentences were not required to be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence committed, and custody was often imposed as a sentence in less serious cases, and again this has changed.

Transferring young people to adult court: The YCJA eliminated the process of transferring young persons to adult court for what were considered more serious cases. Instead, the YCJA established a process whereby the youth court first determines whether or not the young person is guilty of the offence and then, under certain circumstances, the youth court may impose an adult sentence.

Re-Integration back into society after incarceration: The YCJA includes many provisions to assist the young person's reintegration into the community.

Custody and Supervision in the Community: Under the YCJA, every period of custody is followed by a period of supervision and support in the community, as part of the young person's sentence.

Re-Integration plans and home leave: When a young person goes into custody, the YCJA requires that a youth worker work with the young person, to plan for his or her reintegration into the community.

Publicity: A cornerstone of youth justice in Canada is that, as a general rule, the identity of a young person should be protected.

Needs of the Victim: Under the previous legislation there was criticism that the victim was not sufficiently involved in the criminal justice process. Under the YCJA, the interests and needs of victims are clearly recognised and the role of victims at different stages of the youth justice process is specified

3.5.7 Summary: The evidence for the government to examine its policy and adopt a different approach in some areas to dealing with youth crime, appears strong. From its own figures offending by young people in 2009, cost the country between eight to eleven billion pounds (National Audit Office 2010). Although only three percent of offences by young people brought to justice result in a custodial sentence, in the same year thirty eight percent of the youth justice system expenditure was incurred on custodial places and secure establishments. Since custody does not appear to be effective to prevent re-offending, with sixty eight percent receiving a custodial sentence re-offending within a year (MoJ 2012), there is a case for a change of direction, if for no other reason than that the re-offending cost of crime committed by young people and specifically by eighteen to twenty four year olds is nineteen point two billion pounds (Bowles and Pradiptyo 2005). Despite this massive expenditure on young people's crime, only ten percent of the criminal justice budget for under eighteen year olds was spent on crime prevention, although the figures indicate it is much more cost effective than dealing with the young person after the event, and this prevention first policy is an argument now accepted within health.

The problem for a government in accepting such evidence, or the evidence concerning brain development described in the next chapter, is they would have to accept that the criminal justice system needed to adopt a more caring system, containing some elements of punishment, but far more based on a system dealing with prevention and caring for individuals and their issues, as suggested by Lipsey and Wilson in 1998 and 2001. On paper it appeared that the previous coalition government backed this view, as it is the stated

principle of the National Offender Management Service; ‘the right intervention for the right people at the right time’. However, the current government appears to be failing to apply such an ethos and also ignore research evidence, even when it is in its own reports. In a MoJ report in 2010, which provided guidance on new duties to Community Safety Partnerships in England and Wales, it stated:

‘that adults and young people convicted of offences are often some of the most socially excluded within society. The majority of offenders have complex and often deep rooted health and social problems, such as substance misuse, mental health problems, homelessness, high levels of unemployment and possibly debt and financial problems. Tackling these issues is important for addressing the offender’s problems and providing ‘pathways out of offending’, and to break the inter-generational cycle of offending and associated family breakdown’ (MoJ 2010, p8).

The author believes this is still the policy of the NOM but despite this the newly elected Conservative government does not appear to be developing policy to tackle crime looking at broader issues, and instead appears to be again concentrating on punishment and harsh sentences as a deterrent. The following chapter will demonstrate the strength of evidence that the government already has for factors that may influence behaviour and therefore require a more welfare based approach. What they lack is the political will to listen to the evidence and have policy and law reflecting such evidence.

Chapter 4: Influences on criminality and behaviour

4.1 Introduction

This next chapter will look at some of the influences that the author believes have an effect on why people, and specifically young people commit crime or behave in a way deemed 'unacceptable'. This will be done through a combination of looking at traditional criminological research and more recent research into such things as brain development. There will be a number of quotes from 'subjects' within this chapter, and these are the young people interviewed for this thesis as detailed in the methodology chapter. Although the weight of evidence does at this stage appear to indicate the perception and fear of crime being committed by young people is too high (Halsey and White 2008, p4), young people do commit crime. In order to prioritise effort and financial resources to deal with this crime, it is important to establish the causes of juvenile delinquency to ensure the best results in terms of affecting young people's behaviour in a positive way. It will not look at how the laws are put into practice by the police, who, as previously mentioned, have discretion on which laws to apply and therefore a big impact on who is criminalised and who is not (Sanders and Young 2007, p123).

Looking at delinquency it has been argued to have many causes, as has deviance and some of these will be briefly examined later in this chapter, however due to a lack of time for the purpose of this research it will be accepted that:

'Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label' (Becker 1963, p9).

The rest of the chapter will examine subjects that may affect young people's thought processes before they make a decision to behave in such a way that society deems criminal or inappropriate. These will include the effects of brain development and maturity, pressures within society, the influence of families and parents, and a few other factors that may have an influence on whether young people break the law.

4.2 People commit crime as a rationale thought

There is a degree of debate about this, but for many, criminological history has its true beginnings in terms of modern criminological thought in the writings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Maguire, Morgan, and Reiner, p19). People such as Beccaria and Bentham put forward ideas known as the classical school, which stated that people choose to commit crime largely based on rational thought, by looking at the costs and benefits of such actions (Davies 1995, p64). As was described in the previous chapter these ideas have been developed by others and they suggest crime can be prevented by making punishments severe, thus greatly increasing the cost to the offender. This view gives no thought as to why people make any particular decision, and any conditions in that person's life that could have contributed to this decision making process, which may make additional punishment irrelevant. As previously mentioned one example of this is young people interviewed who despite acknowledging the dangers of carrying a knife, accepting doing so does not make them safer, and knowing the penalty for doing so, felt the need to continue to carry a knife. There was also the feeling from some interviewed that they had 'to have the back' of their friends regardless of the consequences as the shame of not doing so outweighed any possible punishment.

Classical theories also appear to assume that all are capable of the same degree of rational thought, so no consideration is given to people with mental health issues, learning difficulties, young people who have yet to learn or experience enough on which to base their decisions, or as will be discussed later, several influences on their lives such as their surroundings, family and peers. However much of this research was completed several or even many years ago. There has been much recent research in terms of risk and protective factors for crime, which distinguishes statistically between children who become involved in crime and ASB and those who do not, in ways that are more than a matter of chance. (Rutter et. al. 2004.) Anderson et. al. stated that examples of prevalent risk factors are poor parental supervision, neglect and abuse, harsh inconsistent discipline, parental conflict, individual and parental attitudes that condone law breaking, low family income, educational achievement from an early age, bullying and aggressive behaviour in primary school and living in a neighbourhood lacking an organised sense of community and with a high population turnover (Anderson et. al. 2005). The following sections will examine some of these factors, in no order of

significance, but in more detail if the risk factor was shown as significant by the thesis analysis.

4.3 Brain development and mental maturity

The fairness of a system based on rationale thought is called into question when several factors are considered that might suggest that not everyone is basing their rational decision on the same thought processes and life experiences. One such area is that of brain development and mental maturity where there has been much research into young people's emotional and social development and how this could affect their behaviour, the results of which were not available when classic theories of criminology were being devised.

A review of this research shows that the concept of maturity is used explicitly in two distinct bodies of research literature concerned with antisocial or criminal behaviour. These are, firstly, neurological studies of brain development, highlighting the structural and functional changes that occur as the human brain matures and the implications of this for understanding behaviour; and secondly, psychological studies of the development of maturity in adolescents and young adults and its relationship to attitudes and behaviours.

Theories like that proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi, as described in the previous chapter, rely on 'self-control' as a key explanatory factor, in which maturity will play a part. They define low self-control as the 'tendency to pursue short-term, immediate pleasure' rather than give consideration to the long-term consequences of actions (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, p93). The individual's capacity for self-control is, they suggest, formed early in childhood through the effectiveness or otherwise of parental socialization, and becomes fairly stable from the age of eight to ten years. The theory that level of self-control is the crucial factor in offending behaviour is not universally accepted and has been much tested by other researchers. It has received a fair degree of evidential support, although is less often found to be significant as a predictor of criminality in isolation from other factors (Pratt and Cullen 2000).

An opposing theory affected by maturity of young people concerns the likelihood of their involvement in risk factors and crime. An individuals' propensity to become involved in risky behaviours may be affected by their maturity and its effect on such individual factors as

impulsivity, empathy or moral judgement and social and cultural factors such as socialisation processes, peer relations and neighbourhood influences (Prior et al 2011, p5).

Looking firstly at the neurological research which focuses on the physiological structure and functions of the human brain and the extent to which this can account for behaviour, and in recent times has made particular use of the method of magnetic resource imaging to observe brain functions. Historically, scientists believed that the human brain ceased development when an individual reached the age of twelve (Wallis). With the advent of magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) however, scientists have found evidence that the brain continues to develop throughout adolescence (Bennett and Baird 2005). Research has concluded that both behavioural (Arnett 2004) and cognitive (Sowell 1999) development continues through “emerging adulthood”.

A key finding of the neurological research is that the ‘higher executive functions’ of the brain, functions such as planning, verbal memory and impulse control, are located in the frontal lobes and that these are among the last areas of the brain to mature. Research in 2007, concluded young adults potentially face greater difficulties in controlling behaviour as:

‘The human brain continues to mature until at least the age of twenty five, particularly in the areas of judgement, reasoning, and impulse control, (Caulum 2007).

This research was supported in 2009 by Johnson who agreed that this process continued well into adulthood. (Johnson et al 2009, p216).

In particular, the research found that while adults rely on the pre-frontal cortex, in certain cognitive tests, eighteen to twenty-five year olds relied more on the amygdala, a region of the brain associated with ‘gut reactions’ and overall emotional responses. An example is demonstrated in a study on adolescents and adults, where researchers found that, when the groups viewed pictures of adult facial expressions, their patterns of brain activity were very different. Adults correctly identified the facial expressions by relying on the prefrontal cortex, the area of the brain involved in judgment, reason, and planning. Adolescents, however, struggled to determine correct responses. This changed over time, with greater reliance on the pre-frontal cortex, and less on the amygdala as people aged (Spinks 2007). The immaturity of the pre-frontal cortex is also associated with greater levels of impulsivity amongst young

adults. Development of the cortex and in particular the process of myelination continues well into the mid-twenties (Caulum 2007).

Researchers in this area are strongly aware of the potential policy implications arising from the findings of neuro-imaging research, and broadly advise caution in drawing direct conclusions for policy. Johnson et al (2009), for instance, warn that neuroscience does not translate easily into prescriptions for policy or forms of intervention, because a brain's behaviour in a scanner is not an indicator of 'real world' performance: it cannot detect lies, innocence, true intentions, and so on.

However not all in this field are so cautious and one suggests that neuroscience could reasonably be conscripted in defence of a diversionary model of youth justice, one in which all but the most serious are routed out of the system due to a belief that their offending is likely to be limited to their adolescent years, that it is part of their development and thus, by definition, transient. Walsh suggests that more sophisticated understandings are needed of 'what is going on inside young minds', so as to develop more creative responses to offending, such as restorative justice, on the grounds that 'brains can be moulded, and remoulded, by social experience' (Walsh 2010: 4). However, Walsh is also alert to potentially regressive uses of neuroscience in the justice field, in particular that it might be used as a predictive tool to detect the criminogenic brain and could lead policymakers away from a focus on social and environmental factors such as poverty, schooling, housing, etc. (Prior et al 2011, p5). As will be discussed later in this chapter there are also issues concerning labelling, and the negative effect this can have on behaviour, and so real dangers to be avoided.

A second area of brain research concerns psychological structures. A distinction is made in psychological research between cognitive maturity and psychosocial maturity, where the former refers to an individual's 'capacity for thinking, reasoning, understanding' and the latter to 'aspects of development and behaviour that involve personality traits, interpersonal relations and affective experience' (Steinberg and Cauffman 1996, p250). In a later article, Cauffman and Steinberg (2000) argue that cognitive abilities become fully developed in or before adolescence, so that there is little variation in 'cognitive maturity' between adolescents and young adults. Levels of psychosocial maturity, on the other hand, are seen as differentiating adolescents from adults, and much of the more recent research is concerned with identifying different psychosocial factors and exploring their influence on decision-

making by adolescents and young adults. These psychosocial factors involve elements of both emotional and social development.

Maturity, in this psychological research, is primarily viewed as a measure of the capacity to take decisions that would be regarded as appropriate to adults, and is referred to as ‘socially responsible decision making’ (Cauffman and Steinberg 2000) or ‘maturity of judgement’ (Modecki 2008). The literature identifies three main psychosocial factors that are held to influence the maturity with which young people judge situations and make decisions about how to act: responsibility, temperance and perspective (Steinberg and Cauffman 1996; Cauffman and Steinberg 2000). Since 1996, a substantial amount of research has refined the definition and understanding of these three psychosocial factors and examined how they affect individual decision making. They now tend to be defined as responsibility being the ability to act independently, be self-reliant and have a clear sense of personal identity, temperance being the ability to evaluate the consequences of different courses of action before making a decision to act in response to the assessment of a situation; to limit impulsivity and control aggressive responses and risk taking, and perspective being the ability to understand and consider the views of others before taking a decision to act and to understand the wider context in which the decision to act is made (Prior et al 2011, p10).

The studies mentioned above are explicitly concerned with the relationship between the level of maturity exhibited by individuals and their propensity to engage in crime, or antisocial and delinquent behaviour. Research broadly points to the conclusion that lack of full psychosocial development, as found in adolescents, generates a greater likelihood of ‘immature judgement’ or decisions to engage in offending behaviour, and that this can extend into young adulthood. Thus, Modecki offers the general observation that:

‘Young adults may be more akin to adolescents than adults in their inclination to engage in antisocial decision making’ (Modecki 2008, p89).

Moreover, the research suggests that while the three psychosocial factors of responsibility, temperance and perspective develop towards maturity at different rates, with responsibility and perspective becoming relatively settled after around eighteen years, emotional factors may continue to influence the ability to exercise temperance in decision making through into the mid to late twenties (Modecki 2008). In a major US study of convicted young people aged eleven to seventeen years, the importance of ‘temperance’ in influencing offending

behaviour was highlighted. They found that this was ‘the significant maturity variable in predicting violent, non-violent and total delinquent behaviour for boys and holds promise as a significant predictor of similar behaviour among girls’ (Cruise et al 2008, p189).

The above research looks at the ‘natural’ development of the brain and how different people develop at a different pace towards ‘adult maturity’. However some of that research also looked at how that pace could be altered by both conditions and circumstances in young people’s lives. This is supported by research on brain development, conducted by the Wave Trust, which shows that certain conditions will affect the growth of the brain and activity within it (Wave Trust 2005). It suggests the personality is developed over the first five years of life due to changing conditions, rather than, or in addition to, generic characteristics given at birth. The conditions in which the child is raised could account for up to fifteen percent smaller brain together with poor activity in other areas of the brain according to the Wave Trust (Wave Trust 2005)

Another example where the natural development of the brain could be affected, is where the mother consumes alcohol during pregnancy. After conception the brain develops most between the second and eighth week of pregnancy, and therefore in terms of consumption of dangerous products such as alcohol, drugs and tobacco this is a crucial period, although excessive consumption through the whole of the pregnancy may have a negative effect. This is another example of where advances in science could have overtaken developments in the law as foetal alcohol syndrome (FASD) was not discovered till 1973, together with the negative effects it could have on the development of the brain. The prevalence is difficult to establish, but in the ‘West’ it is estimated one in five hundred children suffer from FASD. In the UK, the amount of information is limited but the British Medical Association believe it is in fact the most common non-genetic cause of learning disability in the UK, although it is often misdiagnosed as Autism, Asperger Syndrome or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (Foundation for People with Learning Difficulties 2014).

The research on neurological and psychological brain development deals with the differentiation in the development of a healthy brain, and the conditions described by the WAVE trust and FASD discuss what can happen if the brain is mis-treated. The next sub-sections will deal with disorders of the brain that up to seven percent of males in society

could possess, which could affect their decision making process and therefore their behaviour.

4.4 Possible consequences of brain disorders

4.4.1 Conduct Disorder: An example of a mental condition affecting crime, that could be caused by imperfect brain development would be conduct disorder, which is the commonest psychiatric disorder in childhood, with a prevalence of seven percent in boys and three percent in girls, and is consistently also the commonest reason for referral of children and adolescents to mental health services (Audit Commission 1999) and (NICE 2013, p5). The financial cost to society of dealing with young people with this disorder, was ten times that of those with no problems, and crime was the biggest factor in that cost (Scott et. al. 2001). The prevalence of conduct disorders in the UK varies across ethnic groups; for example, their prevalence is lower than average in young people of south Asian family origin and higher than average in young people from African-Caribbean family origin (NICE 2013, p5). It is also an example of where behaviour is associated with social and educational disadvantage, as the condition occurs four times more often in families with unskilled occupations than in professional families (Metzler et. al. 2000). The importance of dealing with conduct disorders was emphasised by the National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (NICE), which said that support for parents of children at risk of developing conduct disorders could prevent them developing into offenders. Gillian Leng, the deputy chief executive of NICE said:

‘Conduct disorders, and associated anti-social behaviour, are the most common mental and behavioural problems in children and young people. Around half of children with conduct disorder not only miss out on parts of their childhood but go on to have serious mental health problems as adults’ (Leng, G. 2013).

4.4.2 Anti-Social Personality Disorder: A further, slightly more extreme condition, is Anti-Social Personality Disorder (ASPD) with studies in the US and Europe indicating that between one percent and three percent of the population suffer from this condition (Moran and Hagell 2001). To be diagnosed with ASPD, the subject must have suffered from conduct disorder and displayed symptoms before the age of fifteen, and be over the age of eighteen. It encompasses a range of behaviours and traits including committing unlawful acts, deceitfulness, impulsiveness, failure to plan ahead, aggressiveness, recklessness and a lack of

remorse. Clinical interviews conducted on a sub-sample of prisoners showed that forty nine percent of male prisoners and thirty one percent of female prisoners were diagnosed as having ASPD (Moran and Hagell 2001).

4.4.3 Summary of the effect of poor mental health: As can be seen from the evidence above, the brain plays an important part in how we choose to behave, or not, and it is not just a few people who suffer from issues connected with the brain. A substantial minority of children, up to forty five percent are likely to experience moderate or severe psychological problems at some point in childhood or early adulthood. It is suggested that at any one time, up to twenty percent of children and young people may be affected by emotional and behavioural problems, most commonly anxiety disorders, disruptive disorders and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (Buchanan, A., 1999, p1). Longitudinal studies in the UK, USA and elsewhere in the Western world show that a range of factors in children's early lives have been consistently associated with increased risk of mental health problems in adolescence and adulthood (Mental Health Foundation (MHF) 1999, p7). The greater the number of risks, and the more severe the risks, the greater the likelihood of the child developing a mental health problem. If a child has only one risk factor in their life, their risk of developing a mental health problem has been defined as being one to two percent. However, with three risk factors the likelihood increases to eight percent and with four or more risk factors the likelihood of the child developing a mental health problem is increased to twenty percent (MHF, 1999, p7). Evidence suggests that children's emotional well-being can improved if the number of risk factors is reduced, and the number of protective factors is increased.

A central finding in the literature on psychosocial adversities is that some individuals are more resilient than others. There are children who, against all odds survive intact and develop into competent, confident and caring adults despite prolonged and negative experiences. An important key to promoting children's mental health is, therefore, a greater understanding of these protective factors that enable some children to be resilient (MHF 1999, p.9). Intervening effectively yields huge benefits in reducing a number of problems that are of concern to government, school, parents and children (MHF 1999, p7). It therefore seems strange that a subject dealing with issues involving personal, social, health, and economic (PSHE) subjects is not compulsory in schools and this subject will be tackled later in this chapter.

Sadly if young people do not get treatment or help with these issues as a child they follow them to adulthood and often play a part in offending patterns, and some would say decisions. Young adult offenders are three times more likely to have mental health issues than people of the same age who do not offend. It was also estimated that up to ninety percent of young people in prison have a diagnosable mental illness, substance abuse problem, or both (Lyon, Dennison & Wilson, 2000). They are thirteen times more likely than other children to be looked after by their local authority, and twenty times more likely to have been excluded from school. Rather than resolving the difficulties of these young people, prison often compounds their problems (Lyon, J., 2002).

The Sainsbury centre for Mental Health estimates sixty to eighty percent of male prisoners and fifty percent of female prisoners have a form of personality disorder, compared with just five to fifteen percent of the general population, and about half the deaths in police custody involve detainees with some sort of mental health problem (Docking, Grace, and Burke 2008). According to National Health Service definitions, personality disorders are conditions in which an individual differs significantly from an average person, in terms of how they think, perceive, feel or relate to others.

Again, without seeking to prove a causal link to poverty the figures are enlightening. The Marmot Review highlighted the potential importance of both maternal mental health and low birth weights which may be associated with lower levels of development (Marmot 2010). Rates of maternal depression are nearly twice as high among mothers living in poverty and three times as high for teenage mothers (Dept. of Health 2010). Maternal depression is in turn associated with low birth weight, emotional or conduct disorders and children's later intellectual development (Dept. of Health 2010). Half of all adult mental health problems start by the age of fourteen and seventy five percent by the mid-twenties (HM Govt 2011). People in the most deprived communities have the poorest mental and physical health and there is a threefold increased risk of mental health problems between the highest and lowest socio-economic groups, five percent and fifteen percent respectively (Green et. al. 2005). A problem that the government and local authorities need to deal with is the ability of young people who may be suffering from mental health issues actually accessing care. If the young person or their carer does not wish them to be treated, then regardless of the need to refer them to the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS), they will not be treated. A few of the young people questioned for this thesis, who had been assessed by professionals

as having need, never received the treatment required, but this is not a problem exclusive to one borough as the author is aware of two other boroughs in London where the same issue exists.

A very specific point involving mental health was highlighted by the Justice Committee when they pointed out that a high proportion of young offenders with speech, language and communication needs and/or a learning disability face enormous difficulties in understanding court proceedings, which may jeopardise their right to a fair trial. They considered that section 104 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, which would allow young people prosecuted for an offence to apply to the court to give evidence through an intermediary, as witnesses currently do, could provide an important safeguard for their rights. Parliament had decided that this provision is needed, and they therefore recommended that the Ministry of Justice brings this section into force. The Government decided to defer implementation of section 104 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009 until full consideration could be given to the practical and resource implications, but later in its response the government admitted it had no plans to adopt section 104 (Justice Committee Parliament 2013). The government admits it has no plans to adopt the idea of intermediaries for defendants which appears to be one of several examples of treating the mental age of defendants differently to those of other people, in this case, other witnesses.

A witness can use an intermediary, but at the moment courts are using criminal practice directions as a means of appointing intermediaries to vulnerable defendants. This only applies post-charge, so up until then they would have to use an Appropriate Adult. Defendants are also not permitted to access the NPIA register of intermediaries unlike the prosecution and therefore have to source available people by alternative means, all of which appears discriminatory (O'Mahony 2014). With some research suggesting that as many as sixty percent of young defendants experience some form of communication difficulty, swift identification of the problem and the appropriate adaptation of questioning methods are essential (Youth Justice Agency 2009). Mental health is just one area where people are different, and this area of research known as positivism will be discussed below.

4.5 *Positivism*

The research into brain development is a fairly new phenomenon but over several decades, numerous investigators have found statistically significant relationships between crime and certain inherited and biologically identifiable characteristics such as skull formation, body type, chromosomal abnormalities, and glandular or neurological anomalies (Klein 1971). Other theories have been put forward with roots in psychology, sociology; theories based on the individual, the family, based on social control or social strain, on labelling or interactionism (Muncie, 2009). So, various theories have been put forward for the causes of crime and delinquency, with much debate and no agreement.

In the 1870's Cesare Lombroso initially studied Italian army recruits and started to consider that certain physical attributes indicated a propensity towards crime. These views are now commonly known as the Italian school, and are also known as positivism. The main thrust of his argument, was that people could be born with criminal tendencies, possibly recognisable by physical attributes, and therefore not be making a rationale choice but merely following a pre-determined path. These views are now largely discredited by many academics (Siegal 2003, p139), and as can be seen from the brain research above, scientific development has overtaken such ideas.

However a related school of thought with more credence is that of biological positivism. There have been various studies looking at genetics in terms of offending, or put simply is it 'nature or nurture'? (Newburn 2007, p135-6). People may be born with unusual chromosomes, neurotransmitters, excessive testosterone and unusual hormones, and recently studies concerning nutrition, in terms of behaviour. So there are several ways we may all be different in terms of brain development, academic and emotional intelligence, together with various chemicals within us. Since we may all have such differences it would be logical to teach young people about them and how to deal with their own emotions and feelings, but this is an area where there is massive difference between schools on how they deliver in this area known in schools as teaching about personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE).

The finding of the most comprehensive assessment of PSHE education in England published in January 2011 on behalf of the Department of Education by Hallam University concluded that both the quantitative and qualitative evidence demonstrated that delivery of PSHE education in England is inconsistent and at secondary level, often infrequent. It also stated

that up to ninety percent of teachers delivering the lessons in PSHE did not have a specialist qualification to do so, which is not the same for any other subject. The same Department of Education held a PSHE education review at the end of 2012, but its findings appeared to ignore much of what was in the comprehensive review and concluded continuing PSHE as a non-statutory subject was adequate. This appears to be the government ignoring evidence that is presented to it if it doesn't like the conclusions of any report. As a result of these differences between us we may react differently to some of the influences in our lives, and some of these possible influences will be discussed in the next section.

4.6 Influences of the society we live in

4.6.1 The Pressure to keep up with everyone else: The idea that there is far more than an individual's decision about whether to commit crime, was advanced by Emile Durkheim in the late 1800's. He believed there was more than individual choice at play and that society could exercise a coercive power over people from within that society (Martin, Michael & McIntyre 1994). He also did not believe that crime was necessarily a bad thing for a society, that all societies have crime, and that crimes are actually a breach of a certain moral code and that was why punishment was required (Garland 1983, p65-6).

Durkheim's theory was developed by Merton in the 1930's as he looked at American society around the time of the Great Depression. He talked about the American dream, and unlike in France and Britain where class and privilege was still an issue, America had no such system, just old money, and new money. Merton replaces Durkheim's conception of insatiable passions and appetites with the assumption that human needs and desires are primarily the product of the social process i.e. cultural socialisation. For instance people reared in a society where cultural values emphasise material goals will learn to strive for economic success. Merton focuses on the extreme emphasis on material goals that characterises the cultural environment of American society. In this respect, Merton's description of American society is quite similar to Durkheim's observations regarding the unrelenting pursuit of economic gain in 'the sphere of trade and industry'. However, Merton extends this materialistic portrait to include all of American society. Merton not only argues that all Americans, regardless of their position in society, are exposed to the dominant materialistic values, but that their cultural beliefs sustain the myth that anyone can succeed in pursuit of an economic goal (Rock, 2002, p53). Therefore the dream was that no matter where you came from you could 'make' money and 'live the dream'. Merton then talked of the 'strain' felt by individuals who

realised they actually could not achieve this dream by legitimate means. Crime happened due to the desire to have the wealth by any means. In this context Merton argued, the condition of anomie which Durkheim had regarded as exceptional, was visited upon people in boom and slump but otherwise held at bay by social regulation, becomes routine, a built in and unintended feature of society (Downes and Rock 2005, p115). Although Merton only regarded his theory as being applicable to America, the criticism would still be that it does not explain why not all who fail to 'live the dream' go on to commit crime, or why those who have wealth and are 'living the dream' still commit crime. He tried to explain that the majority will continue to conform to social norms, but that certain sections are more prone to anomie, but again there is the question, why doesn't all of that section of society feel the 'strain'? There will be several references in the review of the effects of poverty and socio-economic conditions, the links rather than causal effect of poverty, but not all living in these conditions choose to commit crime. However this 'strain' was mentioned by several of the young people who were interviewed, as they asked the question when talking about others in society 'why should they have all the money' and some did not regard it as wrong to take that money by any means.

In the 1950's and 1960's, theories concerning culture and sub-culture came to prominence, and Albert Cohen took Merton's strain theory to introduce such notions, as like Merton, he believed that conflict within society could actually be normal (Downes and Rock 2003, p145). He believed that each culture or sub-culture developed as a response to 'strain', and each one was different depending on the individuals and peers within the group. The main plank of Cohen's theory was his characterisation of gang delinquency and his assumption that it amounted to a 'way of life' in deprived inner city areas (Downes and Rock 2003, p145). The young men, and it was largely young men, this later being levelled as a criticism that female sub-cultures were not considered, had no access to the middle class ambitions and status they were judged against. They therefore formed groups of their own in which alternative forms of status and appreciation could be achieved (Newburn 2007, p197-8). This is supported by Harding in his recently published book, 'The Street Casino: Survival in violent street gangs', where he talks of the desire for 'street capital' i.e. reputation as a main requirement of gang life.

Cloward and Ohlin in 1960 looked to develop this theory further and asked under which conditions, will people experience strains and tensions that lead to delinquent solutions? In

part, the answer was that disparity between what lower class youths are led to want and what is actually available to them, is the source of a major problem of adjustment (Newburn 2007, p198). The author has experienced this when speaking to young people in Fairfield about available jobs in 2008, where a young unemployed man stated he would not apply for any job with a salary of more than £10,000 as he felt these jobs were 'not for him'. Has this young man been socialised to accept 'his lot', to fail to aspire, and so avoid strain and possible damage to the existing society. Cloward and Ohlin also argue that individuals have different access to achieve the normal goals of society by legitimate or illegitimate means, and that some do not have access to either means of achieving these goals. So although the young people were seen as a problem in the UK and the USA, the differences in people's lives having an effect on the sub-cultures being formed was possibly one of the reasons that different versions of American and British sub culture theory emerged. Living conditions in the USA and England and Wales are different and people's surroundings will be the next area examined.

4.6.2 The influence of people's physical surroundings: It was at the beginning of the 1930's and onwards, that what is now known as the Chicago School developed. Two important factors emerged from this school of thought highlighted by Shaw and McKay. Firstly that neighbourhoods tended to be relatively stable in their statuses as high, medium, or low crime areas, regardless of who lived in the neighbourhood in terms of ethnic grouping. Secondly, they found that crime and delinquency rates tended consistently to be lower in areas of high socio-economic status and higher in areas of relative socio-economic deprivation. This led them to conclude that the factors that helped explain socio-economic differences were also important in explaining social and geographical variation in crime and delinquency, but this was not saying poverty causes crime (Newburn 2007, p191).

Much of the main work of the Chicago School focused on the zonal development of cities, with each city having a transitional zone, where the housing tended to be of a poorer standard, and population fairly transient. In this zone, deviant behaviour and social problems such as crime, prostitution, high infant mortality, general poor health and poverty tended to be higher than other areas. What they saw was that the make-up of the people living in these areas changed in terms of ethnicity, but the problems remained largely the same, persuading them to conclude that the area rather than the people in the area played a large part in forming the nature of the criminality of those living in the area (Newburn 2007, p193). These theories

have some resonance in Fairfield and its surrounds. Throughout the ten years the author policed Fairfield borough, the amount of crime in areas of the borough has remained largely stable over many years, regardless of the ethnicity of those living in the area. However, other research found that when young men were moved to a perceived better area, initially violent behaviour fell, but that this was eventually offset by increased property crime (Kling 2004).

But it is not only the physical surroundings that may affect behaviour and development as children who grow up in “risky families”; families with complex needs and chaotic environments, are more likely as young people to engage in risky behaviour resulting in poor health and wellbeing outcomes (Blencowe 2011, p5). The Centre of the Developing Child (2010) reported that adverse events and experiences during early childhood along with childhood health and wellbeing can affect long term health and wellbeing into adulthood. It is therefore worrying that the UK was bottom of a group of twenty one countries in a survey conducted by the OECD measuring child well-being (UNICEF 2007, p2).

The influences of biology, emotional and psychological factors and the built environment all affect a child’s development and thus their short and long term health and wellbeing. Cumulative exposure to adverse events, such as domestic violence, or acute exposure, such as a traumatic event like bereavement, during critical periods of development will result in physiological adaptations. This may result in poor health and wellbeing in the future, such as psychological disorders and mental health problems, leading to, for example, violent behaviour or substance misuse. In addition, it is key for a child to have a stable and responsive environment that promotes solid relationships and that caregivers are skilled to support physical and emotional development to ensure good health and wellbeing and reduce the risk of risky behaviour. Parents who misuse substances, are teenage parents, have mental health problems or who are poorly educated may not have sufficient parental skills to create this stable, supportive environment talked about which is required for good development.

Examples of exposure to adverse events from those interviewed was subject eighteen who stated his father had been to prison for domestic violence. When asked did he think that this had affected him in any way he responded that although he had witnessed the assaults he did not think it had made any difference to his behaviour. However his head teacher stated he was very worried about him as he had a terrible attitude towards women, and the young person

himself admitted to bullying other young people on many occasions, sometimes violently. Another example is subject sixteen who when asked why she thought she behaved badly stated that she believed the root of her behaviour and offending was that her sister had died when she was in year six and she had never spoken to anyone about it. A final example is a boy the author recently dealt with through working with the local authority. Both this boy's parents had died in traumatic circumstances, his father recently being murdered. His behaviour had declined to the point he would not work with or co-operate with anyone and it seems ridiculous to think that he will not be 'touched' by such events.

Finally the built environment will affect development. Those children living in poverty will often experience poor accommodation in terms of overcrowding, damp rooms, poor accessibility to outside space etc. which will in turn affect physical and psychological development and thus starting the cycle of vulnerability to risky behaviour. Washback (2010) has also demonstrated that behaviour problems are more evident in children from disadvantaged backgrounds and that this inequality gap has increased since the 1990's (Blencowe 2011, p25).

4.6.3 Reacting to being labelled as 'bad': So both neighbourhoods and people can sometimes have a negative effect on young people but they can also contribute to them being labelled as 'bad'. This labelling of groups was looked at by people such as Becker in 1963 in his work 'The Outsiders'. In effect he argues that rule breaking is generally the result of a three stage process. Firstly rules are created by social groups, and it is the infraction of these rules that creates deviance. Secondly the rules are applied to particular people. Thirdly those to whom the rules are applied are then labelled as outsiders. At the heart of this is that the important thing for the creation of deviance is the application of labels, not the breaking of rules (Newburn 2007, p215). As stated earlier this paper will not look at the purpose of law within society, or how laws come into being, but it can be noted that if deviance is a failure to conform to the rules observed by most of the group, the reaction of the group is to label the person as 'having offended' against their social or moral code. It should be noted that societies are very different and treat things differently, so adultery in western culture is a breach of a moral code, but in Muslim culture it is often a breach of a penal code.

Looking at the origins of labelling theory, Frank Tannenbaum in his book *Crime and Community* from 1938 described the social interaction involved in crime. He first introduced the idea of 'tagging' i.e. a negative tag or label could often contribute to further involvement in delinquent behaviour. He argued that delinquents are not much different to non-delinquents.

'The process of making the criminal is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasising, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasising and evoking the very traits that are complained of.....The person becomes the thing he is described as being....The way out is through a refusal to dramatise the evil' (Newburn 2007, p 213).

This theory was developed by Edwin Lemert who in 1951 introduced the concept of secondary deviance. 'I do these things because I am the way that I am'. He stated he had come to believe that older sociology tended to rely upon the idea that deviance leads to social control, whereas he believed the reverse to be true, that social controls lead to deviance. It is equally tenable and the potentially richer premise for studying deviance in modern society (Newburn, 2007, p212). People can anticipate the likely responses of others, and tailor their own prospective acts to accommodate them (Mead 1934). Deviants come to see themselves as that and act accordingly. Observation of the pupils at the PRU during interview indicated that these theories have some resonance with many of those pupils. A number said that once they felt labelled as a 'trouble maker', they then started to behave badly in order to 'play up' to this reputation. As subject four stated:

"Yeah and I thought well if you are going to stick me in there (the internal exclusion unit) I am going to do something worth getting stuck in there for. If you say I'm bad then I'm going to be bad".

There is also the well-established theory put forward by Bataris that 'my attitude affects my behaviour which affects your attitude which affects your behaviour', and so on. However this was only one element that made up the reason and rationale for their behaviour, with each individual having other 'risk factors' in their lives. As will be mentioned again when looking at labelling theory, this is a major weakness in the theories of Tannenbaum and Lement, in

that they do not examine what is the initial cause of the deviant/poor behaviour that causes the young person to be so labelled.

However, labelling theories continued and Philip Cohen in his 1972 work 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics', developed the idea further, where he looked at deviancy amplification. Thus an initial act of deviance, such as the wearing of certain dress, is defined as being worthy of attention, and is responded to punitively. The deviant or group of deviants is segregated or isolated and this operates to alienate them from conventional society. They perceive themselves as more deviant, group themselves with others in a similar position, and this leads to more deviance. This, in turn, exposes the group to further punitive sanctions and other forceful action by the conformists, and the system starts going round again' (Cohen 2002, p8). There is a similarity in this argument to the treatment of 'hoodies' and the use of ASBO's and exclusion zones by the authorities, and also again to 'gangs' with the wearing of certain street clothes, such as bandanas, and other gang colours, to distinguish them from others in society. Stuart Hall, in his 1978 work 'policing the crisis', looked at the reaction to muggings carried out by African-Caribbean suspects. 'Mugging' was described by the British press in 1972 as a frightening new strain of crime, despite this type of crime being carried out since the 1860's, and crime statistics for it being available from 1968. After 1972 the sentence for such offences rose from a maximum of six months to twenty years, and resulted in a concentration on the crime by police, and the eventual labelling of the crime as a 'black crime' (Hall 1978). During the interviews with the PRU pupils it was apparent that several felt 'dumped' in the unit and that they were now considered 'not normal' and to be kept away from other young people. As one described it 'we have been labelled twice', however to counter this, many actually preferred being in the unit, and as a result there was no apparent amplification of their deviancy.

Wilkins, in 1964, also looked at the amplification of deviance, where the reaction by the authorities towards an individual may lead to an escalation, rather than a diminution of deviancy (Newburn 2007, p 218). The author has witnessed this in his role as a Police officer, and also gained knowledge through speaking to the PRU pupils, about how some young people are falsely labelled as anti-social or gang members. They associate with someone who already has the label of gang member, for no other reason than the person is a friend, and this association and contact gets reported by an officer, which then becomes a 'piece of police

intelligence’. A few more sightings and intelligence reports and that young person now appears on police intelligence briefings as a ‘known gang member’. As a result of this they may become a more familiar face to police officers and then as a result, be stopped and searched far more frequently. As subject thirty who had denied being in a gang himself stated when asked if his mates were in a gang:

“yeah some of them. They joined for protection originally but now people just get drawn in because of where they live. People just assume because you are from a certain endz (area) or hang round with certain people you must be a gang member”.

This is supported by recent research by Juanjo Medina from the University of Manchester, who found that a young person is more likely to be stopped by the police because they are black or associate with people known to the police, rather than the frequency or severity of their offending (Puffett 2013 (b))

As mentioned earlier, the author is aware of the dangers of labelling through his one to one interviews, but it is more than amplification. Almost all of the pupils interviewed at the PRU felt they had been the victim of labelling, and unfairly treated as a result. The usual example given was that if the teacher had their back to class and someone did something wrong, in the absence of the actual transgressor they would pick out the labelled individual as the perpetrator, despite having no evidence for this conclusion. As subject nine stated:

“Yeah the teacher picks on you...other kids get away with all sorts of stuff and I got into trouble for everything”.

As all the pupils in the PRU have been excluded from school it is interesting that this is one of the reasons given by Briggs, and listed below, as the main causes of exclusion:

- *Labelling*
- *Pupils unclear about what they were supposed to be learning*
- *Having their voices disregarded*

(Briggs 2010, p11).

Most of the young people interviewed at the PRU dismissed being unclear about learning, and only a minority felt not having their voices heard was a cause of frustration or poor behaviour resulting in exclusion, but they almost universally gave victimisation and labelling as a reason for exclusion.

So there do appear to be dangers in labelling young people at risk of poor behaviour, but paradoxically therefore, worthy of intervention. Partly as a result of the danger of stigmatising children, especially below the age of criminal responsibility, as ‘potential offenders’, policy makers have generally been guided towards preventative approaches that target communities or schools, rather than individual children (Youth Justice Board 2005). Erving Goffman in 1963 looked at stigma in his work ‘Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity’ which looked at how people managed their identity once they have been labelled and how they controlled information about it. In ancient Greece, stigma referred to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor; a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places (Newburn 2007, p217). Such resistance to public shaming from both juvenile and adult offenders in Fairfield was observed in those who were asked to take part in reparation activities in public as part of their sentence. Several people from both groups said they did not mind doing the work, but if they were made to wear a reflective jacket which identified them as an offender, they would walk away and accept their breach of an order. They would rather go to prison than carry out work in public in some sort of prisoner uniform from which they could be identified, and in their eyes, shamed.

But not all shaming is seen as negative and Braithwaite in 1989 identified two forms of shaming, disintegrative and re-integrative. Disintegrative is a form of shaming that stigmatises and excludes the person being shamed. This is the process identified or implied in the bulk of labelling theory literature, and involves not merely the labelling of particular acts, but the labelling of the actor as well. Re-integrative shaming is where social disapproval is followed by processes that seek to reintegrate the offender back into the community of law-abiding or respectable citizens through words or gestures of forgiveness or ceremonies to decertify the offender as deviant. The power of shaming and embarrassment can be seen in

the comments of subject seven who stated in response to what would work to alter her behaviour:

“The one thing that worked was inviting my mum to sit in a lesson with me. I never wanted that to happen again....it was really embarrassing”.

At its core, Braithwaite’s argument is that crime rates tend to be higher in circumstances in which disintegrative shaming is dominant and lower where re-integrative shaming is the preferred mode of responding to offending (Newburn 2007, p219). Restorative justice could be argued to be a form of re-integrative shaming and this and other forms of intervention used to deal with offending and behaviour will be discussed later in this chapter.

A criticism of labelling is that it does not necessarily explain the motivation to commit more serious crime, or even the motivation for less serious crime. Indeed labelling theories were criticised for ignoring biological and genetic effects, as well as personal responsibility (Maguire Morgan and Reiner 2002, p71). However, such labelling of criminals may prevent them obtaining employment or acceptance back into society which then prevents them re-integrating back into that society. As will be examined later, the inability to obtain employment or accommodation appears to be statistically relevant to levels of re-offending, and so labelling theories do have a relevance in controlling behaviour. When looking at early intervention later in the chapter, there will be a look at the strengths of examining risk factors involved in young people’s lives and ensuring interventions are ‘targeted’ at the right people. As was examined earlier when discussing brain development, through the use of tools like MRI scanners young people more at risk of criminal or anti-social behaviour may be able to be identified. Perhaps it is not the labelling of young people that is the problem, but the consequences for the individual of that labelling, i.e. what society decides to do with the labelled group or individual.

4.6.4 Poverty: Poverty is a risk factor for crime (Newburn 2007, p841), has an influence on some other risk factors such as conduct disorders, and also contributes to what some call social exclusion (Muncie 2009, p263). As well as the issues contributed to by poverty, one major problem for people suffering poverty is the difficulty trying to escape it, and of trying to change their financial position. It actually costs more to be poor than rich, which is known

as ‘the poverty premium’. Save the Children has calculated that the annual poverty premium can amount to more than £1280 for a typical low income family, and that this figure is rising (Save the Children 2011). An example of this would be the cost of credit where houses on low or variable income often have a poor or non-existent credit history and are therefore unable to access reasonably priced credit from mainstream lenders. Another example would be energy costs, where the tariffs for pre-payment meters are more expensive than direct debit or online tariffs. More than half of the households on pre-payment meters, receive a means tested benefit, or benefit for disability (Ofgem 2010). Energy prices have risen a lot in recent years and so this will have the greatest impact on those paying the highest tariffs, in other words, those using pre-payment meters, including many low income families (Mummery and Reilly 2010).

This is illustrated by the fact the poorest twenty percent of households faced inflation of four point three percent, between 2008 and 2010, whilst the richest twenty percent had inflation of two point seven percent and this was largely due to energy prices (Institute for Fiscal Studies 2011). This more expensive energy could also actually affect some other risk factors for crime, such as the mental health of adolescents, who could suffer if homes are poorly heated (Liddell and Morris 2010). Also research has recorded a marked reduction in the number of days pupils take off school when inadequate heating is improved (Howden Chapman et. al. 2008), with adequate attendance important for academic achievement. In the UK in 2008, some thirty percent of children were growing up in poverty once housing is factored in, compared to fifteen percent in 1970, and for Inner London the figure was forty eight percent (CCJS 2009). Although child poverty has fallen slightly over more recent years, it is expected to rise from 2013 by 600,000 up to 2016, and to continue rising up to 2020 (Browne, Hood and Royce 2013).

The scale of the problem of poverty and child poverty was acknowledged by a recent government report in 2011, ‘A New Approach to Child Poverty: Tackling the Causes of Disadvantage and Transforming Families Lives’. This report looked to tackle the causes of disadvantage and transform family lives. It stated five point three million people suffer from multiple disadvantage, with one point nine million children living in workless households in the UK, which is a higher proportion than most other EU countries (HM Government 2011). This is important, and more so than in a number of other OECD (Organisation for Economic

Co-operation and Development) countries, as parental income is a major predictor of children's future income (OECD 2010). In 2009 the UK had a higher than OECD inequality average for material well-being, but achieved close to average for health and educational well-being. However, this still put the UK in the group of countries in the bottom two fifths for overall inequality (EU Income and Living conditions 2009).

In terms of being the victim of crime, the poorest also seem to suffer disproportionately, with those living in the twenty percent most deprived local authority areas being twice as likely to be a victim, across a range of crimes, as someone in the least twenty percent deprived areas (Home Office 2008). Also, those categorised as in 'inner city adversity' by the ACORN classification system, are almost four times more likely to be the victim of a theft and sixty percent more likely to be the victim of violence (Home Office 2008).

Finally, although the thesis will not look in detail at the over representation of some ethnic groups within the criminal justice system and will not seek to prove a causal connection between poverty and crime, as poverty seems at least linked to crime, some figures concerning ethnicity within certain socio-economic groups do seem relevant. By 1995 forty percent of African-Caribbeans and fifty nine percent Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the UK were located in the poorest fifth of the population, contrasting with only eighteen percent of the white population. In London, by the mid 1990's, up to seventy percent of the residents of the poorest housing estates were from black and ethnic minority communities (Power and Tunstall 1995). Also, African-Caribbean men aged sixteen to thirty nine are almost twice as likely to be unemployed as their similarly qualified white counterparts. This also makes them more likely to come into contact with the police simply by 'hanging around' on the street (Berthaud 1999).

To try and deal with the primary preventative measures of reducing crime by dealing with socio-economic conditions like poverty, inequality and social exclusion is a major task and difficult to achieve. In terms of conditions in wider society, recent analysis of two schemes that were seen as reasonably effective in reducing crime, run by the Violence Reduction Unit in Scotland and the Manchester Multi Agency Gang Strategy, found that attempts to address socio-economic factors underpinning the reasons for youths to join gangs was impractical (Bullock and Tilley 2008). Secondary prevention, which focuses on risk situations for young

people, and tertiary prevention, which focuses more on the time after a crime has occurred were seen as more productive areas in which to concentrate efforts, and these are the areas that will be examined next.

4.7 The influence of family

4.7.1 Introduction - The family make-up: When looking at behaviour and criminality the family is often suggested as a major factor and within that body of work ‘broken homes’ is a much researched area. Consistently, across different historical eras and study settings, young people from disrupted family backgrounds have been found to be at some increased risk of involvement in crime (Smith 2010, p250). Reviewing this literature in the early 1990’s, Wells and Rankin (1991) concluded that the prevalence of overall delinquency was typically ten to fifteen percent higher for young people in non-intact than in intact homes. Findings from the Cambridge Study in delinquent behaviour, the most well-known longitudinal study of behaviour in the UK, paint a similar picture. In this 1950’s born cohort of inner city boys, teenagers from permanently disrupted families were at roughly two-fold increased risk of both self-reported delinquency and officially recorded juvenile crime (Smith 2010, p250). This study has tracked participants into middle adulthood. Although contrasts between men from disrupted and stable family backgrounds were less marked at this stage, even in adulthood conviction rates showed some continuing associations with childhood family disruption (Juby and Farrington 2001).

However, many of the studies of broken homes were carried out many years ago when the rates of break-up were less, and the make-up of families was fairly simple in terms of intact or non-intact. Today the situation is very different with many options of family make-up within a household. One recent US study identified thirteen different family types in a contemporary adolescent cohort (Apel and Kaukinen 2008), and data from the 2001 Census reflect a similarly complex pattern in the UK (Smith 2010, p251). Just over half of dependent children lived in a ‘traditional’ married couple family, and a further seven percent in cohabiting couple households. Around a quarter lived with a single parent, usually their mother, and approaching ten percent were in step-families, roughly evenly divided between those where parents were married and those where they were cohabiting (White 2002). These single mother figures are consistent with data from the thesis collected over four years, if the test data is included, as the figure remained constantly around twenty five percent of young

people living with a single parent, usually the mother. In addition to this data, two other trends are to be noted in terms of family demographics. Firstly, there are consistent links between family size and delinquency, where young people from large families have typically been found to be at an increased risk of offending (Rutter et. al. 1998). Secondly maternal age, where children of very young mothers are vulnerable to a range of adverse developmental outcomes including antisocial behaviour and crime (Moffitt 2002). A final relevant factor, is that although average household incomes double in real terms between early 1970's and the early 2000's, not all family types benefitted equally from this trend. In particular, single parent families, who had already fallen behind in the previous twenty years, became markedly more disadvantaged relative to couple families (Smith 2010, p256).

Returning to the more recent study mentioned above by Apel and Kaukinen (2008), which used information from a study of eight thousand adolescents in 1997 in the US, and as stated, identified thirteen types of family make-up. At the most general level, the results confirmed findings from much past research. As a group, young people living with both biological parents had the lowest rates of antisocial behaviour, while youth in all 'non-intact' families had higher rates, on average sixteen percent higher. However the findings highlighted a number of other effects. Firstly, there was considerable heterogeneity within the 'intact' family category, with young people in blended families reporting higher rates of antisocial activities than those in 'nuclear' families, and the small group whose parents were cohabiting scoring higher again. Controls to rule out a myriad of potential other influencing factors were taken into account, but did not completely rule out such findings. Among young people living with one biological parent, although those in a single parent household were at increased risk by contrast with adolescents in intact families, those living with step parents, or where the biological parent was cohabiting with an unrelated partner, were if anything at slightly higher risk. Once again statistical controls for socio-economic and other confounds accounted for some but not all of the differences (Smith 2010, p258). These pointers demonstrate that parental cohabitation and 'blended' families may be associated with adverse outcomes for children are echoed in a number of other US reports. Although UK evidence is less extensive, at least in relation to step families some similar patterns have begun to be identified here (Smith 2010, p258). This link with step parents is supported by conversations with young people by the author and also the mentors of the YEP, from talking to their mentees.

Although talking was generally seen as the best intervention subject nineteen highlighted the problem of step-parents saying:

“talking didn’t work because I didn’t want to talk to her (his step mother) and then my dad would get involved.....but he never got too involved again after I hit him”

Findings from longitudinal analysis of the UK Offending Crime and Justice Survey showed that while single parent family status reduced the likelihood of young people following a delinquency/drug free trajectory by six percent, the effects of upbringing by a mother and stepfather were considerably more marked (Hales et. al. 2009). The 1998/9 Youth Lifestyle Survey also noted higher rates of self-reporting offending among young people in single parent and step families (Flood and Page et. al. 2000). As mentioned above, UK evidence on cohabitation is more limited, and those pointers that are available suggest that effects may be less marked than in the US. For example, no difference was found in rates of psychiatric disorder, including conduct disorder, between young people in married and cohabiting couple families in the 1999 Child Mental Health survey (Ford et. al. 2004).

4.7.2 Single parent families: So, although there appears to be some evidence of children in step-families being at a significant risk, there also appears to be insufficient evidence at this time to show it to be statistically relevant. However, there is far more evidence of the effects of being brought up in a single parent family. According to figures from the Office of National Statistics there were nearly two million lone parents with dependent children in the UK in 2012, a figure which has grown significantly from 1.6 million in 1996. Lone parents with dependent children represented twenty six percent of all families with dependent children in 2012, an increase of four percentage points since 1996. Women are more likely to take the main caring responsibilities for any children when relationships break down, and in 2012 in the UK they accounted for ninety one percent of lone parents with dependent children (Family-demography 2012). This was mirrored by the information provided by this thesis where the mother was usually the lone parent. From the child’s viewpoint, eighty percent of dependent children live in two-parent families and this figure includes six percent who live in step-families. Another eighteen percent live with lone mothers and two percent with lone fathers (Social Trends 2002: 32, p. 48). Although there may be no direct causal link between single parent families and youth violence and crime, this does not prevent poor parenting

often being identified as one of the most serious risk factors for unhealthy youth development. An example of this was given by the Government minister Iain Duncan Smith, who claimed that young people brought up in broken homes were nine times more likely to commit crime than those brought up in stable families. This being considerably in excess of other known figures. He also stated that the collapse of marriage had brought soaring crime rates, and doubled the chances of living in poverty compared to two parent families and cost the country £100billion a year (Doughty November 2010). He concluded:

‘We would be foolish to ignore the weight of evidence which shows just how influential family life can be to life outcomes’ (Ian Duncan Smith 2013).

As was identified in the introduction, politicians and others often misrepresent statistics either by omission or over emphasis of certain statistics. The facts below indicate the conditions that are often involved when becoming a lone parent and are a far more accurate reflection of the true picture than that given by politicians. Some of the actual statistics for single families are that lone mothers are twice as likely as two-parent families to live in poverty at any one time, with sixty nine percent of lone mothers being in the bottom forty percent of household income versus thirty four percent of couples with children. These figures are before housing costs, but after housing costs have been taken into consideration the figures retain the same ratio, of seventy two percent versus thirty six percent (Department for Work and Pensions 2002, p81). It is also then difficult for lone parents to escape that poverty, as they have twice as much risk of experiencing persistent low income, spending three out of four years in the bottom thirty percent of household income as couples with children, fifty percent versus twenty two percent (Department for Work and Pensions 2002, p141). Other examples of an indication of lone parents suffering poverty, is that they are more than twice as likely as couples with children to have no savings, sixty eight percent versus twenty eight percent (Office for National Statistics, Table 5.25, p103), and are eight times as likely to live in a workless household as couples with children, forty five percent versus five point four percent. (Office for National Statistics, 2001). A final indication of lone parents being in poverty is that lone parent households are over twelve times as likely to be receiving income support as couples with dependent children, fifty one percent versus four, and they are also two and a half times as likely to be receiving working families tax credit, twenty four percent versus nine percent. (Office for National Statistics 2002). It is also noted that the position is not

improving under this government's welfare reforms. According to a report from the Gingerbread and the Children's Society, 240,000 single parents under the age of twenty five will lose about £780 each under the Universal Credit system. The report warned this will push about 100,000 children below the poverty line, when the reforms were phased in from October 2013 (Children & Young People Now, 2013), but at this time it is not clear if this has been the case.

Another example of how young people are affected by being brought up in a single household is in terms of mental and emotional well-being. After controlling for other demographic factors, children in lone-parent households are still two point eight times as likely to forego family outings. (Cockett and Tripp, 1994, p31.). Among children aged five to fifteen years in Great Britain, those from lone-parent families were twice as likely to have a mental health problem as those from intact two-parent families, sixteen percent versus eight percent (Meltzer, H., et. al., 2000). A major longitudinal study of 1,400 American families found that twenty percent to twenty five percent of children from divorced families showed lasting signs of depression, impulsivity or risk-taking, irresponsibility, or antisocial behaviour compared with ten percent of children in intact two-parent families (Hetherington 2002). Finally, at the age of thirty three, divorced and never-married mothers were two and a half times more likely than married mothers to experience high levels of psychological distress. Even after accounting for financial hardship, prior psychological distress, and other demographic factors, lone mothers were still one point four times more likely to have psychological distress (Hope et. al., 1999).

There are other statistics that are relevant to this issue. Young people in lone-parent families were thirty percent more likely than those in two-parent families to report that their parents rarely or never knew where they were. (Flood-Page et. al. 2000). After controlling for other demographic factors, lone parents were two point two five times more likely to report their child's behaviour was upsetting to them, thirty percent more likely to report significant arguments with their children, and sixty percent more likely to expect too much or have too high expectations of their child. (Cockett and Tripp, 1994, p28).

Schooling and friendships are an important part of development, but the following indicate negative effects in these areas. In terms of schooling children from lone-parent families are more likely to score poorly on tests of reading, mathematics, and thinking skills. (Elliott and

Richards 1985) and (Wadsworth et. al. 1985). Also after controlling for other demographic factors, children from lone-parent households were three point three times more likely to report problems with their academic work, and fifty percent more likely to report difficulties with teachers. (Cockett and Tripp, 1994, pp 24–25). In terms of friendships, after controlling for other demographic factors, children from lone-parent households are three times as likely to report problems with friendships (Cockett and Tripp, 1994, p27.). They are more likely to have behaviour problems or engage in antisocial behaviour. (Ferri 1984) and (Wadsworth et. al. 1985). Finally, boys from lone-parent households are more likely to show hostility to adults and other children, and be destructive of belongings (Whitehead 1979). The figure over the four years of the thesis for single parents of children taking part in the questionnaire was twenty five percent, although this figure doubled for the young people interviewed in the PRU.

Moving on from the effects of single parenthood, another suggestion is that family conflict is particularly criminogenic (McCord 20077, Rutter et. al.1998, West & Farrington 1977), and the choice to divorce must typically be made by parents who do not get along. David Farrington found that marital disharmony of their parents, when boys were fourteen, predicted subsequent aggressive behaviour among boys who had not been previously aggressive. Tracing the lives of a group of men forty years after they had participated in a youth study, Joan McCord contrasted effects of conflict between parents with effects of parental absence. Compared with boys raised in quarrelsome, but intact homes, boys reared by affectionate mothers, in broken homes were half as likely to be convicted of serious crimes. Criminality was no more common among those reared solely by affectionate mothers than amongst those brought up by two parents in tranquil homes. Also, not all lone parent families have been through possible trauma connected with divorce, but this may not negate any negative effects of being a lone parent as even after controlling for low incomes, children growing up with never-married lone mothers are especially disadvantaged according to standard scales of deprivation (Gauthier 1999).

Michael Rutter was able to disentangle the effects of parental absence and effects of parental discord in his study of children whose parents were patients in a London psychiatric clinic. Among those who had been separated from their parents, conduct disorders occurred only if the separations were the result of parental discord. Among those still living with both parents,

disorders occurred when there was parental conflict. Furthermore the children's behaviour improved when they were placed in tranquil homes, and this supports research by the WAVE Trust and Kids Company concerning brain development in circumstances where conflict was common.

A final point on this issue, is the suggestion that as the majority of lone parents are female, criminality and delinquency could be a response to excessive maternal identification. If this were the case, it is likely that the presence of a stepfather should reduce the criminogenic effects of paternal loss, but this does not occur. In fact, as previously mentioned, studies have consistently shown higher rates of delinquency for boys who had substitute fathers than those having no fathers in the home (McCord et. al. 1962). An article by Marjorie Smith for the Thomas Coram Research Unit, suggests most studies of health and behavioural outcomes for children in stepfamilies have adopted the 'deficit model', comparing stepfamilies with two parent families. The results of these studies are suggestive of a higher rate of problems in children from stepfamilies (Ferri, 1984; Zill, 1988; Amato and Keith, 1991; Hetherington, 1993; Hanson, McLanahan and Thomson, 1996; Dunn et. al., 1998). More recent research has concluded that some of the apparently poor psychosocial outcomes for children in stepfamilies are actually due to factors that predate the existence of the stepfamily (Nicholson, Fergusson and Horwood, 1999). The increased risks for children in stepfamilies may be statistically significant, but by no means all children in stepfamilies experience difficulties, or problems. More recent studies, such as the one reported here, have begun to investigate the factors within stepfamilies that are associated with better or worse outcomes for children (Smith 2006).

The evidence from this study suggests that what is important for child well-being are factors in the 'here and now'. Past family history, structural variables relating to the stepfamily, potential mental health vulnerabilities in their parent, and even the relationship with the non-resident parent, were all insignificant, compared with the dominant influence on child wellbeing of relationship variables in the current stepfamily household (Smith 2006). Regardless of the make-up of the family, clearly what the carers' actually do when in the home is important and the next sections will deal with various aspects of parental discipline such as whether they use a positive or negative style.

4.8 Parental influence

It is clear from several years of longitudinal studies in many countries that parenting has a strong influence on individual differences in anti-social behaviour and offending (Smith, D 2010). Indeed the importance of the family as an influence on young people's offending was suggested as long ago as 1925 by Burt (Burt, C 1925). The influence of parenting begins early in life, and appears to continue into adolescence (Dishion et. al. 2003; Dodge and Pettit 2003, Farrington 1995; Hill 2002), with adolescent outcomes influenced by current as well as by earlier parenting (Steinberg and Silk 2002; Woolfenden et. al. 2001). Some have claimed that parenting practices may account for as much as thirty percent of the variation in youth conduct problem outcome (Patterson 2002; Patterson et. al.1992), although one review put the figures at a smaller eleven percent for delinquency (Hoeve et. al. 2009). As will be mentioned in chapter eight when discussing the findings it does appear though that as young people get older the influence of parents reduces. As well as the quantitative data several of the young people interviewed made this very clear such as subjects four and seven who stated

“parents don't really know what is going on, my mum asks me what's going on and that, but I just lie” and “we do talk about things but it makes no difference I want to do what I want to do”

4.8.1 Positive parenting: In terms of which facets of parenting are important, and at which developmental stages, models of parenting are in agreement in highlighting two central dimensions. Firstly positive dimension related to levels of involvement and responsiveness, and secondly behavioural control, which at its extreme may be expressed as harsh or punitive parenting and frequent conflict. In terms of positive involvement a number of studies have investigated the role of early positive parenting, such as levels of warmth, supportive behaviour, and shared activities in the development of conduct problems in childhood (Gardner et. al. 2003, 2007; Rothbaum and Weisz 1994) and adolescence (Hoeve et. al..2009; Pettit et. al. 2001; Steinberg and Silk 2002). For example UK studies using direct observations in the home, or time diaries to measure parenting, have shown that time spent in early parent-child positive activities, such as joint play and conversation, are linked to lower levels of child problem behaviour (Gardner 1994; Gardner et. al..2003; Galboda-Liyanage et. al. 2003). Studies have also found correlations from early parental involvement to fewer conduct problems in adolescence (Ary et. al. 1999; Patterson et. al. 1992; Pettit et. al. 1997),

independent of social class and gender (Maguire et. al. 2002, p673). In the Cambridge Study, having a father who never joined in the boy's leisure activities doubled his risk of conviction (West and Farrington 1973, p57), and this was the most important predictor of persistence in offending after age twenty-one as opposed to desistance (Farrington and Hawkins 1991). The thesis research established that fathers taking part in leisure activities greatly increased the likelihood of young people being involved in such activities.

Parental warmth and responsiveness are similarly linked to fewer problem behaviours in childhood and adolescence (Rothbaum and Weisz 1994; Steinberg and Silk 2002). Hoeve et. al.'s (2009) meta-analysis, which attempted to synthesise findings across one hundred and sixty studies of the relationship between parenting and delinquency found strong support for positive parenting. There were no differences in the strength of this relationship in longitudinal and cross-sectional studies, implying that both early and current parenting are consistently linked to adolescent problem behaviour. On the other hand when they examined the effect of age on this association, in cross-sectional studies only, which made up approximately seventy percent of the studies reviewed, they found that the association between parenting and delinquency was stronger in younger than in older adolescents.

Longitudinal studies, based on observing proactive parenting in the home, suggest that parents are able to help prevent problem behaviour across early childhood by structuring the child's time effectively with attention and activities (Gardner et. al. 2003), and by using strategies such as turning a boring task onto a game, or giving clear rules and incentives before misbehaviour occurs (Gandner et. al. 1999). Based on parent interviews, Petit et. al.'s (2001) study suggest there may also be long term effects of early proactive parenting into adolescence. Mediation analyses show that changes in 'positive parenting' including warmth, praise, involvement, and proactive strategies, together help account for improvements in problem behaviour following intervention, at least in younger children (Dishion et. al. 2008; Gandner et. al. 2006, Martinez and Forgatch 2001).

4.8.2 Parental control: So positive parenting is generally seen as effective, but is this also the case for the second important element of parenting, that of control. For most families, issues of discipline and control first emerge in the early toddler years, when children become more active, mobile and unsafe, and begin more frequently to oppose their parent's demands.

These oppositional outbursts commonly lead into episodes of parent-child conflict, which often include toddler aggression and tantrums (Shaw et. al. 2000). Although this is a normal stage of development, it is also a time when longer-term helpful or unhelpful patterns of conflict prevention and resolution can develop, depending on how parents manage these behaviours (Patterson et. al. 1992). He describes a 'coercive family process' whereby child problem behaviour comes to be learned and over learned during conflict, via processes of modelling and mutual reinforcement by parent and child. Often the key process encouraging the development of problem behaviour is negative reinforcement, whereby the parent becomes angry, but then gives in to the child's noisy demands in order to ensure short-term peace and quiet (Gardner 1989; Dishion and Petterson 2006). (Maguire et. al. 2002, p673).

This is supported by the young people in the study who stated often parental discipline failed as parents gave in and returned the confiscated item, or shortened or cancelled the period of 'grounding'. Erratic or inconsistent discipline also predicts delinquency (West and Farrington 1973, p51). This can involve either erratic discipline by one parent, sometimes turning a blind eye to bad behaviour and sometimes punishing it severely, or inconsistency between two parents, with one parent being tolerant or indulgent and the other being harshly punitive. It is not clear whether unusually lax discipline predicts delinquency. Just as inappropriate methods of responding to bad behaviour predict delinquency, low parental reinforcement of good behaviour is also a predictor (Farrington and Loaber 1999). At the other end of the scale to positive parenting is harsh and physical parenting and a sizeable proportion of young people in the thesis had been subject to such parenting, the effects of which will be described in the next section.

4.8.3 Harsh or physical parenting: Harsh parenting lies at one end of the spectrum of parental control and discipline, with physical abuse being at the extreme of this spectrum (Patterson et. al.1992). As well as physical discipline, harsh parenting includes hostile verbal and vocal acts such as yelling, shouting, threatening, and insulting or humiliating the child. This thesis confirmed physical abuse and shouting are still used by parents, with a third of young people surveyed being subject to a physical intervention, but that neither works well as a way of altering behaviour in the long term, and can have a negative effect through a breakdown of the relationship between the parent and the young person.

In terms of physical violence, there are strong links between frequency and level of physical punishment, and child problem behaviour (Fergusson and Lynskey 1997; Gershoff 2002; Farrington 1995) although the strength of this correlation appears to vary between cultural groups (Deater-Deckard et. al. 1996; Lansford et. al. 2005). Harsh parenting, such as physical maltreatment is still quite commonly used. A nationally representative survey of young adults conducted by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1999 (Cawson et. al. 2000) found that around twenty per cent had experienced one or more forms of physical violence during childhood by a parent or carer, with seven per cent saying this was extreme physical abuse. The figure for such use was higher in this thesis with over thirty percent saying they had been hit by a parent. Physical abuse is one of the strongest predictors of a range of child and adult psychiatric disorders, including increased likelihood of conduct problems, substance abuse and suicide (Fergusson and Lynskey 1997; Schuck and Widom 2001). In their study of nearly seven hundred Nottingham children, John and Elizabeth Newson (1989) found that physical punishment at ages seven and eleven predicted later convictions; forty percent of offenders had been smacked or beaten at age eleven, compared with fourteen percent of non-offenders. McCord in 1979 concluded that parental warmth could act as a protective factor against the effects of physical punishment (McCord 1997). Fifty one percent of boys with cold physically punishing mothers were convicted in her study, only twenty one percent of boys with warm physically punishing mothers were convicted, similar to the twenty three percent of boys with warm non-punitive mothers who were convicted. The father's warmth was also a protective factor against the father's physical punishment.

4.8.4 Parents who neglect or sexually abuse: Another and more extreme form of abuse is children who have been subject to physical sexual abuse or neglect, and they tend to become offenders later in life (Malinosky-Rummell and Hansen 1993). A demonstration of this was completed by Widom (1989) in Indianapolis. She used records to identify over nine hundred children who had been abused or neglected before age eleven, and compared them with a control group matched on age, race, gender, elementary school class, and place of residence. A twenty year follow up showed that the children who were abused or neglected were more likely to be arrested as juveniles and as adults, than were the control group, and they were more likely to be arrested for juvenile violence (Maxfield and Widom 1996). Child sexual

abuse and child physical abuse and neglect, also predict adult arrests for sex crimes (Widom and Ames 1994). Similar results have been obtained in other studies. The Cambridge-Somerville study in Boston, (McCord 1983) found that about half of the abused or neglected boys were convicted for serious crimes, became alcoholics or mentally ill, or died before aged thirty-five. In the Rochester Youth Development Study, which is a prospective longitudinal survey of about 1000 children originally aged twelve to fourteen (Smith and Thornberry 1995) showed that recorded child maltreatment under age twelve, consisting of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse or neglect, predicted later self-reported and official delinquency. Furthermore, these results held up after controlling for gender, race, socio-economic status and family structure.

4.8.5 Parental monitoring of their children: The final part of parental control and supervision, which is especially important in terms of late childhood and adolescence, is parental monitoring of young people's activities and whereabouts when the parent is not there. Evidence from longitudinal studies by (Dishion and McMahon 1998 and Hoeve et. al. 2009) suggest that parental monitoring has direct and indirect effects on future adolescent conduct problems, substance use and affiliation with delinquent peers (Farrington 1995; Patterson et. al. 1992). In addition, research has shown that many parents of boys at high risk for anti-social behaviour, reduced their levels of monitoring and guidance as their children reached adolescence. This process appeared especially marked for those with delinquent peers. Parental disengagement contributed to 'premature adolescent autonomy', and to heightened risks for later adolescent substance use and anti-social behaviour (Dishion et. al. 2004). Family interventions targeted at maintaining parental monitoring, as high risk youths reach adolescence, have beneficial effects in relation to later risk for substance use and, there is also evidence that change in parental monitoring is a key mechanism mediating intervention outcome (Dishion et. al. 2003).

Some studies have found that levels of monitoring vary by family type, with lower levels of monitoring in lone parent and step families (Astone and McLanahan 1991). At the same time it has been argued that the effectiveness and importance of parental monitoring, also depend on the characteristics of the adolescent and the neighbourhood. Many studies show that parents who do not know where their children are when they are out, and parents who let their children roam the streets unsupervised from an early age, tend to have delinquent

children. For example, in the classic Cambridge-Somerville study in Boston, poor parental supervision in childhood was the best predictor of both violent and property crimes up to the age of forty-five (McCord 1979). Graham and Bowling (1995) in a survey found that those who experienced low levels of supervision were almost twice as likely to offend (Young People and Crime, p36). Young females in the sample were more likely to be closely supervised than males, and perhaps this is one reason for their lower offending rates. The Youth Lifestyles Survey concluded that a key determining factor in the onset of offending was the relationship between the young person and their parents, since this may also affect the level of supervision they receive:

‘The degree to which teenagers are supervised by their parents is directly related to the number of evenings that they go out: generally young teens who went out several evenings during the week or who went to pubs, night-clubs or parties, were more likely to be offenders. On the other hand, those young people who spent most of their leisure time in the home, for example, reading or watching TV, were less likely to be offenders. Thus, this analysis points towards a close link between poor family relationships and a higher risk of offending’ (Flood-Page, C et. al. 2000 p33-34).

4.8.6 Summary of parent/child relationships: The suggestion here is that those who got on well with their parents were more likely to spend more time in their company and therefore their parents knew where they were and what they were doing. Those with poor relationships, were more likely to wish to leave the home environment and seek activities in environments where they are not only unsupervised, but where opportunities for offending are greater. From the Graham and Bowling survey thirty two percent of males and fourteen percent of females who were closely supervised admitted to offending, the respective offending rates for those who were not closely supervised were much higher at fifty three percent of males and thirty percent of females. As regards parental attachment, those who had bad relationships with either parent were generally twice as likely to offend, with those with a strong attachment having an offending rate of forty two percent whereas the offending rate for those less attached was seventy percent. Flood-Page et.al. in their study noted how fractious relationships between young people and their parents produce a vortex in which crime becomes both a symptom and cause of worsening attitudes, and the young people from this thesis agreed:

‘Research has shown how hostile, anti-social behaviour from children elicits a negative response from their parents and other adults and so offenders and their parents can become locked into a cycle into which their relationship gradually deteriorates’ (Flood-Page et. al..2000).

The Home Office Crime and Justice survey in 2003 questioned young people about the extent to which their parents argue and fight, both with the young people and each other, praise and listen, treat the young person fairly and want to know where they are. Negative parental relationships based on these factors accounted for a high level of anti-social behaviour (Hayward and Sharp 2005). So too did a relaxed attitude on behalf of the parents towards certain types of behaviour, investigated through questions asked about how a young person’s parent would feel about them starting a fight, using graffiti, skipping school and smoking cannabis. Parents with a more relaxed attitude towards such behaviour produced higher rates of anti-social behaviour in their children (Fionda 2010, p71).

In terms of which is the most effective way to alter behaviour as a parent, as discussed above, constructive forms of parental discipline, including clarity of expectations and consistent use of incentives, consequences are linked to lower levels of problem behaviour in children and adolescents (Patterson et. al. 1992), as is proactive use of parenting (Gardner et. al. 1999). The alternative side of this were the examples from this thesis where threats to send young people to other countries, or to other parents, which were never carried out, were seen as weakness by the young people. The links between harsh parenting and child problem behaviour are also clear, but in a negative way. (Hoeve et. al.’s 2009) research found links between problem behaviour and outcomes linked to harsh, rejecting parenting. This was supported by several studies including Farrington and West’s Cambridge study which concluded that young people whose domestic life included ‘harsh and erratic discipline’, poor supervision and neglect, parental separation and delinquent parents were more likely to offend (Farrington 2002), as well as studies by Riley and Shaw (1985), Rutter and Giller (1983) and Power et. al. (1974).

As can be seen from the evidence above, several researchers have identified that families are an important institution through which effective sociological tendencies are learned

(Crawford 1998, p105). However, although the influence of the family is strong, the attachment of young people to families in the UK is weaker than in other European countries. A study of twenty three countries found sixteen year olds in the UK spend the most time compared to others outside their home and in the company of peers:

‘The combination of less time with parents plus few affordable or easily accessible alternatives of adult led activities has resulted in some of the most at risk groups of young people being freer to socialise unsupervised with peers in public areas than in the past’ (Margo & Stevens 2008).

Despite the evidence of that European study of slightly less attachment by young people in the UK to their families, there seems little doubt they do have a major influence, and one example of where a possible lack of parental influence could be caused by absence can be seen is in the section below.

4.8.7 Parental imprisonment: Clearly and as shown above, what they do when present is important but parents’ absence can be equally as important as was discussed earlier in family break-up. Absence can be caused in other ways, such as imprisonment. Criminal and anti-social parents tend to have delinquent and anti-social children, as shown in longitudinal studies in Boston by McCord in 1977 and in St Louis by Robins in 1979. The most extensive research on the concentration of offending in families was carried out in the Cambridge study (Maquire et. al. 2002, p670). Having a convicted father, mother, brother or sister predicted a boy’s own convictions, and all four relatives were independently important as predictors. An example being sixty three percent of boys with convicted fathers were themselves convicted, compared with thirty percent of the remainder (Farrington et. al. 1996). In the same study having a convicted parent or a delinquent older sibling by the tenth birthday, was consistently among the best age predictors of the boys’ later offending and antisocial behaviour. Having a convicted parent or a delinquent older sibling were also the best predictors, after poor parental supervision, of juvenile self-reported delinquency (Maquire et. al. 2002, p671). At all levels of self-reported delinquency in the Cambridge Study, boys with convicted fathers were more likely to be convicted themselves than the boys with un-convicted fathers (West and Farrington 1977, p118). West and Farrington suggested that poor parental supervision

was one link in the chain between criminal fathers and delinquent sons (Farrington and Welsh 2007, p59).

Similar results were obtained in the Pittsburgh Youth Study. Arrests of fathers, mothers, siblings, uncles, aunts and grandparents all predicted the boys' own delinquency. The most significant relative was the father, with arrests of the father predicting delinquency independently of all other arrested relatives (Farrington et. al. 2001). In this study it was suggested that arrested fathers tended to have delinquent sons because they tended to impregnate young woman, to live in bad neighbourhoods, and to use childrearing methods that did not develop a strong conscience in their children (Farrington et. al. 2001). Another explanation for the link suggested by Farrington, is that the statutory services within criminal justice, i.e. the police and courts, contain a bias against known criminal families, who also tend to be known to other agencies due to other social problems (Farrington and Welsh 2007, p60). The reasons behind the link was not explored in the thesis, but the analysis confirmed a link between parental imprisonment and criminal behaviour.

So, although often difficult to isolate exact causal effect, several studies suggest a definite link with a parental incarceration and offending and poor behaviour in young people. It is estimated that during 2005 there were approximately 160,000 children with parents of a British National in prison (Niven and Stuart 2005). Also seven percent of children will see a parent imprisoned during their school years (Social Exclusion Report 2002), and twenty five percent of young men in offender institutes either are or are shortly to become fathers (Fathers Direct 2004) therefore many young people are affected by this issue. Some of the effects on young people were described in a review carried out jointly by the Ministry of Justice and Department for Children, Schools and Families in 2007 and are discussed below, although the report concluded that whilst there was a strong correlation, there was no direct causal link between parental imprisonment and poorer outcomes for children.

Prisoners' children have about three times the risk of mental health problems compared to their peers. They also have three times the risk of being involved in antisocial and delinquent behaviour (Murray 2007). Parental imprisonment can lead children to experience stigma, bullying and teasing (Boswell and Wedge 2002). Children's caregivers often experience considerable distress during parental imprisonment (Murray 2005), and children are often

subject to unstable care arrangements (Phillips et. al. 2006). Prisoners' children experience higher levels of social disadvantage than their peers (Murray and Farrington 2005). This could be as imprisonment has a negative financial impact on families, leaving families vulnerable to financial instability, poverty and debt and potential housing disruption (Grimshaw et. al. 2007).

The review of outcomes for prisoners' children, also found that the children were an invisible group, with very little knowledge of who they are or evidence of systems in place to monitor and assist them. Parental imprisonment does not automatically trigger an assessment of the child's needs, so many of these children may be accessing services, but in numerous cases, services did not know that a parent was in prison. In fact interviewees for the report stated that prisoners' children are rarely signposted to support services within their local communities. There were a few programmes that showed some promise but overall there was a lack of evaluation of any work that was taking place. The prison service and probation service did not always see the link and when prison staff did acknowledge the importance of maintaining family ties it was seen principally from the perspective of what would be beneficial to the prisoner. Finally there was a poor understanding of responsibilities under the Children Act 2004, so whilst it was clear that most probation and prison staff understood child protection responsibilities and that safeguarding principles were effectively embedded, few staff saw a responsibility around wider child wellbeing (Children of Offenders Review 2007).

As can be seen from this, one of the difficulties for statutory bodies is identifying the children who are affected by parental imprisonment. This is the same issue for the siblings of young people who have been sent to prison, as again statutory bodies have no operational systems in place to help identify such young people. This problem is exacerbated by the reluctance of young people to discuss sibling imprisonment (Howard League 2006). The effects of sibling imprisonment will be the next risk factor discussed as although the analysis of the research data for this thesis revealed the correlation was not as strong as parental imprisonment, it still showed as a strong indicator of criminal and antisocial behaviour.

4.8.8 Sibling imprisonment: The Howard League for Penal Reform produced a report in October 2006 called 'when Big Brother goes inside', on the impact on children of older siblings being in prison. In 2005 43,000 young people, mainly boys, experienced

imprisonment, but the impact of their custodial experience was shared by at least 35,000 other children through being their brother or sister (Howard League 2006). The in-depth interviews with children aged between nine and seventeen revealed amongst other things, high levels of emotional distress as a result of a sibling being taken into custody, a detrimental impact of school work, and a reluctance to tell anyone what had happened. Rosie Meek the author of the report stated:

‘The interviews with these children revealed the profound impact that the loss of a sibling has on them. Some grieved the loss of their brother while others got into trouble and became disruptive too. But we also found that children regard the imprisonment of their sibling as an intensely personal event - they do not want to reveal what has happened, particularly to their teachers. This provides a real challenge to professionals who work with young people’ (Meek 2006).

Again the thesis analysis confirmed a link between sibling imprisonment and poor or criminal behaviour. As was discussed when looking at the effects of parental imprisonment on children, there has been much research in this area, carried out by amongst others McCord in 1977, Robins in 1979, Maguire et.al. in 2002, and Farrington et al in 2001 which suggests sibling imprisonment increases the possibility of offending and delinquency. From the evidence above clearly family dynamics and the quality of parenting have an effect on the behaviour of young people, but there are also a few other areas where statistics suggest a similar link and these will be discussed below in no order of significance.

4.9 Other negative influences for crime and poor behaviour

4.9.1 The care system: One increased risk factor appears to be coming from the care system, as twenty five percent of those in prison have a background in the care system, compared to just two percent in the general population (Transition to Adulthood 2010). Other figures provided by the ‘Who Cares Trust’, a charity improving the life of young people in care, are when they leave primary school, forty three percent of children in care will have reached the national curriculum test level expected for their age compared with seventy four percent of all children. Almost one third of children in care leave school with no GCSEs or vocational tests like GNVQs. Only thirteen percent of children in care obtain five good GCSEs compared with fifty eight percent of all children (Department of Education 2010). Only six percent of

care leavers go to university, compared with thirty eight percent of all young people (Department of Education 2011). One third of care leavers are not in education, employment or training compared with thirteen percent of all young people (Department of Education 2010 (2)). As well as the figures for adult prisoners, almost forty percent of prisoners under twenty one were in care as children compared to only two percent of the general population (Department of Education 2010). This could be for several reasons but one example pointed out by the Justice Committee for Parliament was that looked after children have not benefitted from the shift towards a more informal approach to minor offending to the same extent as other children. Whilst acknowledging that serious misdemeanours must be dealt with in a serious manner, they stated it is completely disproportionate for police officers to be called to a children's home to investigate trivial incidents such as an example cited by the Prison Reform where police were called to deal with an allegation of broken crockery. In response the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), the Youth Justice Board (YJB) and the Department for Education (DfE) agreed that children should not be charged with criminal offences as a result of behaviour which would not lead to police involvement in the family home.

The Justice Committee also highlighted what it regarded as disturbing evidence concerning the effective abandonment of looked after children and care leavers in custody by children's and social services, with devastating implications for their outcomes on release. They recommended that the Government should firstly continue to fund social workers in Young Offender Institutions beyond its current commitment of 2014; and secondly set out how it is implementing the further three recommendations made by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) in its 2011 thematic review of the care of looked after children in custody. They recommended that the relevant authorities do more to ensure that looked after children and care leavers in custody are able to maintain contact with family members during their detention, where appropriate. The government response was merely to acknowledge that children in the care of the local authority, or looked after children are overrepresented within the custodial population (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013). The current poor position was confirmed by a YEP youth charity worker, who had herself a long history in the care system, who had spoken to several other young people in care in Fairfield. The young people in care were not aware of basic entitlements from the local authority such as money on their birthday or a laptop on which to study, and the majority did not feel prepared for a life outside the care system. Action, therefore, to improve the outcomes for young people in care and their over representation in the criminal justice system would appear to be an obvious

area for improvement, and this was acknowledged by the government in its response to recommendations made by Justice Committee of Parliament who stated that the DfE had embarked on a substantial programme to reform care in children's homes.

4.9.2: Substance abuse: Substance abuse is a further risk factor and according to the UK Drug Policy Commission the UK has the worst drug problems in Europe, with the highest number of users and the second highest number of drug related deaths (Reuter and Stevens 2007). The position has improved slightly to ninth worst out of forty three countries, although some of the improvement in terms of figures is due to the expansion of Europe and the social problems contained within some of the new countries (United Nations 2012). However, the number of crimes for which substance abuse is integral to the conviction is relatively low, with 56,953 being sentenced in 2008. The report stated sixty percent of street violence was to support a habit and seventy five percent of crack and heroin users said they committed crime to support the habit (MoJ 2008). The causes and drivers for both drug and alcohol dependence are complex and personal and therefore the solutions need to be holistic and centred on each individual (HM Govt 2010). If the government accept this solution to addiction, an apparently obvious question to ask would be why not accept this for crime and act in a similar way to deal with offending and re-offending, and people who have previously offended will now be discussed below as that in itself appears to be a risk factor for offending.

4.9.3 Being previously held in prison:

Introduction: Although someone committing an offence after release from prison may do so for the same reasons as prior to imprisonment, there are also risk factors that appear to be significant in terms of re-offending. Such offending may have slightly different causes and explanations than first time offending, but insufficient account currently appears to be taken of this by the government response to it, despite the new government acknowledging a need for a rehabilitation revolution (Cabinet Office 2010). Seventy five percent of young people released from custody and sixty eight percent on community sentences re-offend within a year (MoJ 2010), and these figures did not significantly change over the next two years (MoJ 2012). But it is too simplistic to think of offenders as one homogenous group, as in reality there are 'career criminals' and those that will hopefully stop. Evidence in a MoJ report suggests there is a group of sixteen thousand active offenders at any one time, who each have seventy five previous convictions. On average they have been to prison fourteen times,

usually for less than twelve months, with nine community sentences and ten fines (MoJ 2010). A separate plan to deal with the ‘hardened criminal’ as well as the first time or infrequent offender would appear to be an expedient idea, and that plan would need to consider fair treatment, access to family, accommodation, and employment, as all appear linked to re-offending and will be discussed below.

Being treated fairly: In general terms, prisoners need to be treated properly and fairly if they are to feel part of society and want to integrate upon release. Prisons are required to have legal service officers under prison service order 2605, but in 2010 the Howard League found only thirteen out of twenty five young offender institutes confirmed they had these officers and only a quarter of them were actually legally trained (Howard League 2010). The same report, which canvasses the opinions of under twenty one year old prisoners, stated that lack of accommodation and employment were the biggest barriers upon release yet thirty three percent said they had nowhere to live upon release, and thirty two said their social worker had not kept in touch (Howard League 2010). Some government policies make it more difficult for young ex-offenders to get work, an example being that the government pays £2500 to employers to employ a young adult who has been unemployed for more than six months. However, time served in prison does not count towards the six months, so in effect upon leaving prison they go to the back of the queue for this scheme (Transition to Adulthood 2010). This problem is illustrated by the fact that nearly two thirds of young offenders did not have a job at the time of their arrest (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

Access to family whilst in prison: Families are an important factor in helping offenders ‘go straight’ and stay crime free. A review of interventions found that family based interventions in general, that is an intervention where the focus is on improving relationships and parenting skills within the family, were effective in reducing offending (Pettosino and Derzon 2006). Receiving family visits while in prison has been associated with successful employment and accommodation outcomes (Niven and Stewart 2005), and been found to reduce the chances of prisoners re-offending after release (May 2004). But, despite the apparent evidence of the importance of family, sixty three percent of access calls to the Howard League by young people in custody relate to the need to transfer to a different prison due to the ability of their family to visit. Clearly family visitation is still an issue that needs addressing. This issue may get worse for young people with the pressure on the Youth Justice Board to close establishments due to falling numbers of young people in custody. Figures from the Ministry

of Justice in March 2012 showed 1804 under eighteens in custody, which is the lowest level since the YJB began collecting records (Children and Young People 2012).

Access to suitable accommodation upon release: The importance of accommodation highlighted by Niven and Stewart is again highlighted by research by the Howard League, where thirty percent of young prisoners said that their accommodation planned for release was not suitable (Howard League 2009). The problem with accommodation is confirmed by a recent Youth Justice Board (YJB) report which also stated that the most common barrier to young people seeking suitable accommodation, was the lack of availability or supply, and it should be noted that nearly forty percent of woman lose their home whilst they are in prison (Young Adult Manifesto), showing accommodation to be a major issue. Housing research, commissioned by the YJB into housing needs and experiences of young people who have been convicted, found that of a sample of one hundred and fifty two young people in both community and custodial settings, all were in housing need. Seventy five percent had lived with someone other than a parent at some time and forty percent had been homeless or had sought formal housing provision and support (YJB 2007). The government appears to agree that action is needed to improve resettlement as in a response to the Justice Committee recommendation twenty it stated that good resettlement planning and aftercare are essential to reducing levels of re-offending. However the regional resettlement model introduced by the government in 2009 that was supported by the committee has now come to the end of its funded period, and the government expects it to be locally funded. As discussed elsewhere local authority budgets are already stretched to breaking point, and not all the pilot areas were able to secure such funding (MoJ 2013). Failure to expand and adequately fund this model seems perverse as the evaluation reports produced in 2013 stated that they were effective at reducing offending, and therefore also made good financial sense on a cost benefit analysis (MoJ 2013).

A further report by HM Inspector of Prisons of England and Wales, stated that fewer than half of the young adult prisoners knew where to get help to find accommodation, drug treatment, or continuing education when they left prison (HM Inspector of Prisons 2007). The need to deal with addiction is illustrated by government figures in 2010, which stated sixty four percent of newly sentenced prisoners reported using a drug during the four week period prior to custody, with heroin and crack being the main two drugs (MoJ 2010). This was the

year after a similar report has stated that forty four percent of offenders assessed in 2008 had problems with alcohol misuse which may have required treatment (MoJ 2009).

These areas of prisoner treatment are all important, as prisoners receiving a family visit are forty percent less likely to re-offend (MoJ 2008). Those not taking part in education, training, or work in prison are three times more likely to offend when released, and those being released into stable accommodation are up to twenty percent less likely to offend upon release (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

But reintegration doesn't have to be difficult and improvements in these areas have been assessed as having a positive impact. The Community Partners Reinvestment (CPR) Project in Oregon USA helps offenders aged eighteen to twenty five re-integrate back into society. The program provides substance abuse treatment and education, job skill development and employment assistance. Focus is on supporting a drug and crime free healthy lifestyle and provides pre and post release counselling for both the young offender and their family. An evaluation by Portland State University covering the period November 2005 to June 2008 showed that among the one hundred and fifty eight participants in the evaluation study, recidivism was lower than for other prisoners, substance use and severity of addiction were reduced, and education, employment and housing situations improved (Transition to Adulthood 2010).

Summary on re-offending: The Justice Committee for Parliament highlighted the failure of the YJB to reduce re-offending which it stated had remained stubbornly around thirty three to thirty five percent over the past decade, and had actually risen slightly in the last two years. Whilst acknowledging this may be partly linked to the reduction of first-time entrants, which means that offenders in the system today are disproportionately more challenging and persistent, it felt a lack of data on what works was a major part of the problem. It therefore recommended that the Youth Justice Board dedicated more of its budget to researching and disseminating best practice about the comparative effectiveness, and cost, of interventions to reduce re-offending. The government responded that the YJB and the government agreed that the figures were too high, which is why it launched its "Transforming Youth Custody" consultation, to consider how time in custody can be used positively to lead to improved outcomes, and reduce reoffending. However as the Justice committee pointed out in recommendation nineteen concerning this report, resources should not be concentrated on

those within the secure estate. This was due to the very low numbers of young people now in custody and the fact that their average length of stay is currently seventy nine days, which makes it almost impossible to achieve genuine progress. The committee felt the greater focus should be on improving transition between custody and the community, ensuring as far as possible that young people leaving custody can resume their education, preferably at their original place of study. This may require incentivising schools and colleges to take back difficult students. They also drew the attention of schools and colleges to the need to provide information to secure institutions regarding the educational levels of young offenders, so that their educational progress is not impeded while they are in custody (Justice Committee of Parliament 2013)

The author would suggest that the evidence already exists on both offending and re-offending, and in terms of the latter the three most statistically relevant areas on release from prison are family contact during incarceration, the availability of suitable employment and housing upon release. These areas, together with educational provision upon release, should be where resources are concentrated and not in the production of another report, or the building of secure colleges. The first one of these is to be in Leicestershire and will house three hundred and twenty prisoners (Casciani 2014), but being sent there may make family contact more difficult so possibly offset any educational gains made.

4.9.4 Violent Offending: The slight variation between possible causes of offending as opposed to re-offending was mentioned above, and another area where there may be a slight variation in possible causes is violent offending. The research suggests that the risk factors are slightly different for violent offending, with meta-analysis of ninety two studies into youth violent behaviour finding that the major predictors for young people committing crime relate to individual characteristics, relationships with parents and family, behaviour at school, if they have friends who commit violent offences, if they carry out other types of crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and if they have been exposed to violence either as a victim or a witness (Lipsey and Derzon 1998). The final part is supported by the government, which identified in 2006 that fifty percent of eighteen to twenty four year olds who had offended in the previous month, had also been the victim of personal crime in the same period. Recent Edinburgh University research also shows that being the victim of crime is an influencing factor in becoming a perpetrator of crime (Smith 2004).

A further example of the complexities of the issues and how interventions should take account of such issues, is that the analysis above suggests the best predictors of violent or serious offending differ according to age-groups. Offending at age six to eleven was ranked as the strongest predictor of subsequent violent or serious offending, even if the early offences did not involve violence. Substance abuse for children age six to eleven was among the best predictors of future violence, but one of the poorest predictors for young people aged twelve to fourteen. The two strongest predictors of subsequent violence for twelve to fourteen age group, lack of positive social ties and involvement with anti-social associates seem relatively weak predictors for six to eleven year olds (Lipsey and Derzon 1998).

4.10 Possible positive influences for crime and poor behaviour

4.10.1 Introduction: Although there are several risk factors that may affect a young person's life in a negative way and increase the risk of offending, there are also more positive influences on a young person's life and these protective factors and processes have been seen to reduce children's exposure to risk factors (Losel and Bender 2003). These are often the 'flip side' of negative factors and examples of this include warm affectionate relationships between children and their parents. Children benefiting from the interest of family, teachers and friends who set positive expectations and clear standards for their behaviour, and having the necessary opportunities to develop skills to feel involved and valued at home and in the community (Anderson et. al. 2005).

4.10.2: Mentoring: Research has shown that one protective factor for young people is mentoring, and this was supported by the young people in Fairfield, both those interviewed and those completing the questionnaire. The presence of mentors was considered the most important asset for positive youth development that exists in communities, especially within the context of youth development programs (Theokas & Lerner 2006, Dubois, Holloway, Valentine & Cooper 2002). A more recent meta-analysis completed in 2011 by Du Bois et. al. looked at seventy three independent assessments of mentoring programmes directed towards children and adolescents, and although this was a study carried out in America its findings are still relevant and will be discussed below. During the past decade up to 2010, mentoring has proliferated as an intervention strategy for addressing the needs of young people, and there are now more than five thousand in America. Such schemes have also grown in England and Wales and the Mentoring and Befriending Foundation now has sixteen hundred organisations

registered. Overall, findings supported the effectiveness of mentoring for improving outcomes across behavioural, social, emotional, and academic domains of young people's development. From a developmental standpoint, benefits of participation in mentoring programs are apparent from early childhood to adolescence and thus not confined to a particular stage of development. Collectively, these findings point toward the flexibility and broad applicability of mentoring as an approach for supporting positive youth development (Dubois et. al. 2011).

The findings did note some areas of caution of the effectiveness of mentoring in certain settings, for the reasons spoken of previously in this thesis that just because mentoring works in one area doesn't automatically mean it will work in a different area. However the area that was found to be the most effective for mentoring was when (a) participating youth have either had pre-existing difficulties, including problem behaviour specifically, or been exposed to significant levels of environmental risk, (b) evaluation samples have included greater proportions of male youth, (c) there has been a good fit between the educational or occupational backgrounds of mentors and the goals of the program, (d) mentors and youth have been paired based on similarity of interests, and (e) programs have been structured to support mentors in assuming teaching or advocacy roles with youth (Dubois et. al. 2011). Clearly then this makes mentoring a very effective tool when dealing with young offenders or young people displaying 'inappropriate' behaviour. The findings of the meta-analysis are supported by this thesis as the young people interviewed in the PRU stated mentoring worked best when they could relate to the mentor and form a relationship. For this reason several thought that the YEP workers and volunteers were better mentors than the ones sometimes provided by the schools, and when the mentor is just seen as a school employee doing their job, this is when mentoring as an intervention will fail. As subject four stated:

"School mentors can't tell you stuff because they don't know you".

Subjects nineteen and six expanded on the idea that in order for mentoring to work there has to be a mutual understanding and respect when they stated:

"Mentoring didn't work cos she was too old, she got on my nerves, and I didn't want her prying into my business" and "Mentoring in school didn't work. It works here

though (in the PRU) because they listen to you. The mentors have done stuff as well, they talk to you, and they understand you”.

The efficacy of mentoring and specifically where a relationship based on empathetic trust is established such as that created by YEP mentors was supported by a recent independent review of that charities activities carried out by Middlesex University at the end of 2014.

Another example of a protective factor would be cognitive and non-cognitive skills develop throughout childhood and these are strongly associated with how children do at school and with their prospects of employment (Carneiro et. al. 2007). Evidence suggests school attainment is correlated to development as early as twenty two months (HM Govt 2011), and that being from a ‘good’ background provided a protective factor against poor initial cognitive development (HM Govt 2011). This is another area where poverty appears statistically relevant without seeking causal effect, as at age five children from the most advantaged groups were found to be over a year ahead in vocabulary, compared to those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Walfogel and Washbrook 2010). This is just one piece of evidence showing that intervening early may have a positive effect and further evidence will be examined in the section below.

4.10.3 Early Intervention: Early intervention has been described as:

‘...intervening early and as soon as possible to tackle problems emerging for children, young people and their families or with a population most at risk of developing problems. Effective intervention may occur at any point in a child or young person’s life’ (C4EO 2010).

Health visitors are an important way to try and deal with several issues under early intervention, as identified by the MP Frank Field. The Coalition Government which introduced plans to increase health visitor numbers by four thousand two hundred (Department of Health 2011). This may be an example of where a government fails to match actions with rhetoric, as it is struggling to reach this target (C&YP 2013). Numbers of health visitors employed in the NHS posts have fallen from ten thousand one hundred and thirty seven in 2004 to eight thousand and seventeen in 2010. The demographic profile of the health visitor workforce suggests that many will be due to retire soon. In order to achieve the

increase of four thousand two hundred it may be that up to six thousand new entrants will be needed over the period to 2015 (Department of Health 2010, p18).

But it is not just this government that has failed to move the agenda away from crisis intervention towards prevention and early intervention, despite laudable rhetoric. The Children Act 1989 definition of ‘children in need’ theoretically enabled local authorities to work with a broad range of children. In reality, however, traditional political and funding structures have made it impossible for local authorities to shift away from the provision of costly acute interventions and towards prevention (Action for Children 2009). An example of such short termism was shown by research that found that during the lifetime of a twenty one year old, there had been over four hundred different major announcements, policy initiatives and funding streams (Action for Children 2009). The Early Action Task Force believes there needs to be a shift from short-term thinking, too often driven by political expediency, to long-term strategies that put children first and short term policies second (Early Action Task Force 2012). From the report by Graham Allen MP on early intervention in 2011, it is clear both the Coalition Government and Opposition say they support early intervention as the best way to support children and families.

However, despite this the NSPCC have calculated that spending on children’s social care such as fostering, youth justice, family and support services, was set to fall by twenty four percent in 2011, with the burden falling disproportionately on preventative services despite the prominent rhetoric around prevention (CIPFA & NSPCC 2011). The future on early intervention does not look any better, with the Local Government Association stating that by 2020 the cost of delivering statutory services will leave almost nothing for early preventative services, or indeed almost anything else (LGA 2012). The Justice Committee for Parliament stated that there is a limit to what criminal justice agencies can achieve in preventing youth offending. Young people in the criminal justice system are disproportionately likely to have high levels of welfare need and other agencies, in particular children’s and social services, have often failed to offer them support at an early stage. They believe that the overall approach of the Troubled Families agenda has the potential for success. However, they were disappointed by a recent finding of the National Audit Office that the Government does not plan a significant shift in resources towards early intervention, despite the strong evidence that it is cost-effective in the long term, and they are concerned that the Department for

Education and local children's services departments are becoming increasingly disengaged from the youth justice agenda.

Interestingly the government's response to these comments was to agree with the committee that early intervention was vital. It stated the Department for Education is increasing the overall funding for early intervention, from £2.2bn in 2011-12 to £2.5bn in 2014-15, which in real terms seems like little increase. However it states this includes money to provide early learning for two year olds, which DfE is doubling to £760m in 2014-15 as evidence shows that this is one of the most important types of early intervention. The Government states it remains committed to early intervention, as it has given local councils the freedom to target their resources to best support the needs of local communities. It has also commissioned another report entitled 'Youth Prevention Cohort Study', which was published in December 2013, but this does not mention early intervention. Instead it supports a premise from this thesis that the 'authorities', and in this case YOS, have little evidence for which programme or package is the most effective (YJB 2013 (c), p3). Also as previously mentioned a major problem will be funding as the LGA have identified due to cuts to local authority budgets, they have no resources left to target preventative interventions and intervene early as required.

As has been briefly detailed in the chapter above the young people spoken to during the thesis supported some of the previous academic research concerning behaviour and the effect it could have on their decision making and behaviour. However as will be detailed in the findings chapter they strongly disagree with other previous research, and with the way parents, schools and statutory bodies seek to monitor and influence their behaviour. What is also very clear from speaking to young people was that they were generally not consulted about the decisions that affect their lives. The following chapter will describe why it is vital young people are not only consulted about such issues, but also that their opinions are given significant weight in any discussion about the best ways to influence their behaviour.

Chapter 5 – The need to consult with young people

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine recent developments concerning the engagement and participation of young people in various aspects of society, and the general acceptance of the premise by adults and young people that children and young people should be heard. It will examine how this acceptance has resulted in legislation and policy in England and Wales and some of the implications of this. It will examine what participation means and the distinction between this and listening and discuss adult and child power relations, together with the generational divide. It will discuss the distinction between participation and actually having a voice, and the implications for this in an educational setting. It will look at ethical issues and conclude with a discussion on how these above principles have been dealt with within the criminal justice system.

Children and adults often see things very differently, and therefore without effective engagement with young people we will not access their perspectives and opinions on the subjects we wish to discuss. However, by the end of the 20th century, the idea that young people should have a say about many local and national policies, services and issues was becoming widely accepted, and even embedded in legislation and policy guidance. We can distinguish different places in which young people's views are sought: local and national government, public and voluntary sectors, in relation to education, health, family and social services, leisure, the arts and culture, family law, urban or area regeneration, and the environment; international development; academic research and finally the private sector, such as commercial and media companies aiming at a youth market (Bragg 2007, p11).

Representative groups are also beginning to recognise the importance of children and young people's participation. Groups such as the former National Association for Young People in Care have repeatedly challenged adult presumptions to exercise choice on behalf of children and young people (McNeish 1999). It is not only adults who are recognising this need for consultation as although much research refers to children and young people's disillusionment with political engagement, a wealth of evidence suggests that they have both the desire and the ability to influence decisions that affect them in their everyday lives. A survey of six hundred and sixty three young people (Park et al, 2004) found that the majority of young

people thought that they should have, at the very least, ‘quite a bit of a say’ in making decisions about issues that affect them (Wright, P. et.al 2006, p11)

This acceptance of the need to involve young people in engagement, consultation and participation by both adults and young people has been reflected in recent legislation and policies adopted in England and Wales, and by international organisations. One such international organisation is the United Nations where this acknowledgement of the young people’s right to participate in the decisions that affect their lives is stated in Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (1989), which was adopted by the UK in 1991. This radically shifted global perceptions on the status of the child towards acceptance that children are agents in their own right, not adults in waiting. The UNCRC is the first enactment to focus solely on the child, regardless of gender, religion, social origin, where the child was born or to whom (Kellett, M. 2011, p1). Although the above is not legally enforceable, this positive attitude concerning consultation with young people has been reflected in recent government legislation and policy in England.

5.2 The legal requirement to consult young people

The Children Act of 1989, implemented in 1991, makes it a legal requirement that young people are consulted and involved in the process of decision making on matters that affect them, and that professionals whose work has an impact on the lives of children, consider how this is carried out (Davie, Upton and Varma 1996). The Government created the Children’s and Young People’s Unit and announced the involvement of children and young people as a core principal across government departments, and asked the unit to develop an overarching strategy. The Education Act 2002 places a duty on school and Local Authorities to consult pupils about decisions affecting them. This is in accordance with the Secretary of States guidance, and the Office for Standards in Education school inspection framework (Ofsted) which now requires inspectors and schools systematically to seek the views of young people (Briggs 2007, p12). The Children Act 2004 established the post of children’s commissioner to ensure that all children and young people have a voice in public life and to promote their involvement in matters that affect them. The DfES Green Paper of 2003 led to Every Child Matters in 2005 and called for children to have a say in developing policies that affect them, and set out the government’s vision to ensure that services are based on the needs of children and young people rather than on the interests of separate agencies. Subsequent policy, such as

the Children's Plan, produced by the Department of Children, Schools and Families in 2007 has reinforced this principal, including monitoring its effectiveness through a national indicator set (Hart and Thompson, 2009, p9).

The United Nations Committee reviews progress every five years. In 2009 it recommended improvements in how the UK enables young people to 'participate in decision making that affects their lives', and in response the various governments of the UK produced a document, *Working Together, Achieving More* (Briggs 2010, p16). In this document the government detailed how it had withdrawn its remaining two reservations against the UNCRC. As a result refugee children and young people now enjoyed the same status as other children and young people, and also that children and young people in custody would no longer be detained with adults under any circumstances (DCFE 2009, p5). The report also noted how the government would continue to consider how to increase opportunities for participation, both in schools and colleges and in community settings; and explore how to give children and young people in the four administrations of the UK, a voice on non-devolved European, and international issues (DCFE 2009, p17).

However, despite the above developments there are questions about the aims and intentions of the work of government departments as well as those in the various different sectors mentioned above; questions about which subjects or issues young people should be consulted on, and questions about how consultation should be carried out, why, and with what consequences. Research has already identified a gap between rhetoric and practice in this area (Prout 2001). Young people can feel sceptical of participative and consultative measures, especially if nothing happens, or appears to happen, as a result (Bragg 2007, p11). But this new focus on participation has compelled us to find effective ways of engaging with children and young people including improved listening skills, and better consultation processes (Sinclair 2004), and these and other participatory issues will be discussed below.

5.3 The meaning of participation

Through legislation and policy, consultation and participation in various process is now required but what exactly does being an active participant mean for young people, as participation means different things to different people. One description is:

‘that participation is the process by which children and young people influence decision making which brings about change in them, others, their service and their communities’ (National Youth Agency)

Possibly a more important definition as it was given by young people was one selected as the winning definition in a competition to describe participation held by the Government in 2005, which described it as :

‘Participation means it is my right to have the opportunity to be involved in making decisions, planning and reviewing an action that might affect me. Having a voice, having a choice – my voice, my choice’ (Gemma Woolley, 2005).

But how do children and young people achieve participation and get involved in processes and start to affect decisions as both definitions above describe. Improved listening skills is one way as they are crucial to improve participation, as ‘hearing’ is not the same thing as ‘listening’, with the latter being described as hearing with understanding (Kellett 2011, p2). Adult-child power relationships are at the heart of the listening process and generational issues feature prominently. Mayall argues that the asymmetrical power relationship of childhood versus adulthood is a feature of social organisation.

‘Adults have divided up the social order into two major groups – adults and children, with specific conditions surrounding the lives of each group: provisions, constraints, and requirements, laws, rights, responsibilities and privileges. Thus, just as the concept of gender has been key to understanding woman’s relationships to the social order, so the concept of generation is key to understanding childhood’ (Mayall 2000, p120)

The generational divide is a consideration for all professionals in their engagement with children and young people. Awareness is an important starting point for effective engagement. Some impasses occur because adults and children have different conceptions of what listening is as seen in the following example involving a child and a social worker. ‘It’s just hearing her, being respectful’ said Tammy’s social worker, explaining to me how she responded when Tammy had asked to move and there was nowhere else to go. As she and the other social workers saw that listening to a child meant paying attention to what they said,

having an open attitude, respecting and empathising with their feelings, but not necessarily doing as they asked. For the young people on the other hand, if no action followed, the adults had not been listening as indicated below:

‘She used to look like she was listening but she never was’. She just used to look and nod and do nothing’ (McLeod 2008, p21).

The author over several years between 2003 and 2013 was required to seek the views of young people about various issues from a policing perspective. On many occasions young people were reluctant to take part in such consultations due to feeling that no-one ever listened to them as nothing ever changed after the consultation. These feelings were reiterated by the subjects of the test questionnaire and as explained in the fieldwork chapter, explaining the reason for and the rationale of the research was an important part of why briefings were given in person by the author on each occasion opinions were sought.

This cynicism from young people as regards being consulted may be due as Kellett suggests to the first decade of the twenty first century being marked by dissatisfaction with the tokenism of consultation. Consultation activities, framed in adult language with adult metrics that excluded harder to reach groups of children were typical of the early 2000’s. Token, tick box consultation exercises were sometimes undertaken merely to ensure funding for projects was forthcoming where grants were only made if children had been consulted. More cynical still were biased consultation exercises which manipulated and exploited children’s views in order to secure a particular adult perspective or a hidden agenda (Kellett, M. 2011, p3).

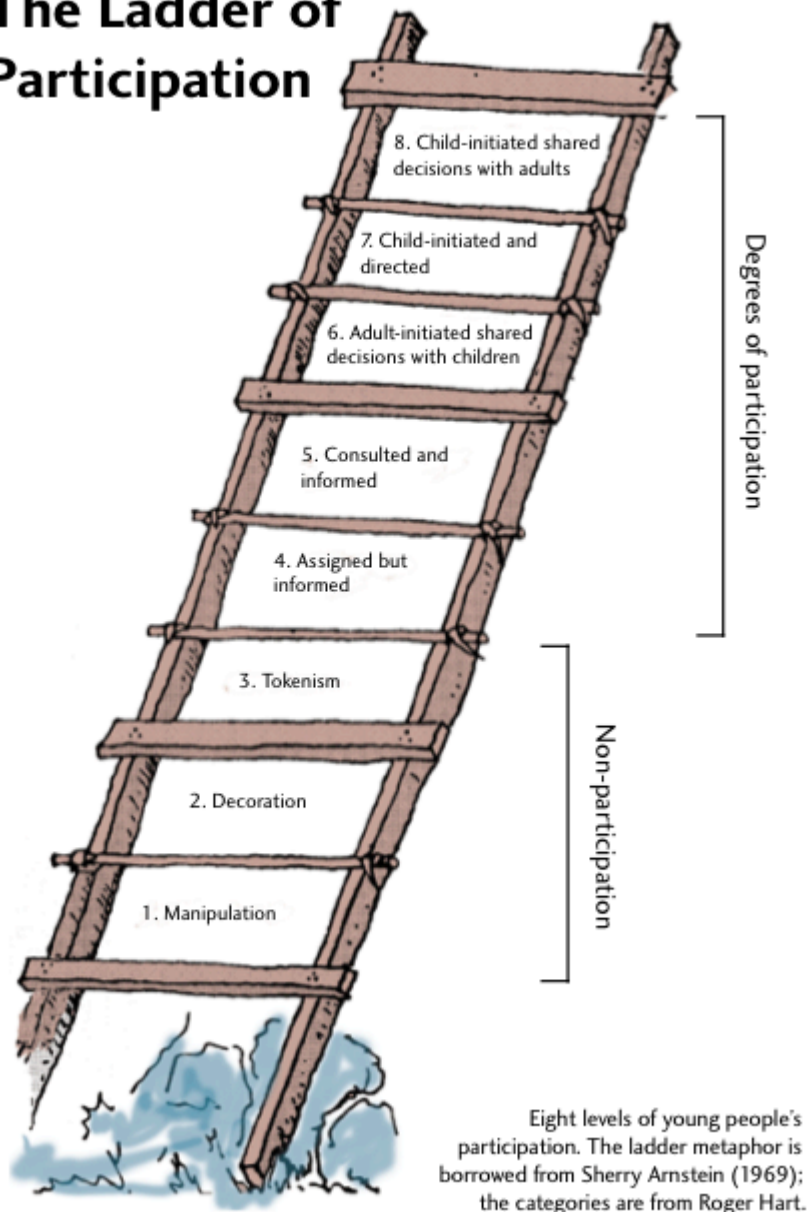
A further reason for cynicism from young people is as Alderson argued, that children’s competency was habitually underestimated. She gave an example of how misguided our adult preconceptions of competency can be when she described a conversation between a ten year old girl in hospital discussing her medical condition. She was asked by an adult ‘so you’re having your legs made longer?’ to which she replied ‘I suffer from achondroplasia and I am having my femurs lengthened’ (Alderson, 2000, p244). Recent events in Rotherham concerning the sexual exploitation of children show the possible consequences of dismissing the thoughts of young people.

5.4 *Hart's ladder of participation*

Consulting young people is not the same as sharing decision making powers with them, which is why there has been a move to participation of the young people in the whole process. Hart's ladder of participation was the first substantial attempt to quantify this. Hart refers to the first three rungs on his ladder, manipulation, decoration and tokenism as none participation, which do not allow young people to assume important roles and indeed may actively exploit them for adults agendas (Briggs 2010, p34). The next three further rungs are assigned but informed, consulted and informed, adult initiated shared decisions with children, which involve roles allotted within adult initiated projects. The final two rungs of child initiated and directed, and child initiated shared decisions with adults, involve projects initiated by young people with support from adults or youth initiated projects with shared decision making (Briggs 2010, p34).

There is a certain amount of debate about which of the highest rungs should represent the most significant and beneficial achievement. Some analysts stress the importance of dialogue and power sharing between adults and young people, while others emphasise young people's autonomy. Practical, as well as philosophical considerations play a role here. For instance, organisations such as schools, with a perpetually changing cohort of young people and a more stable staff, may find the 'dialogic' model more effective in instilling long term changes in adult attitudes and skills that can be reactivated with successive groups of young people (Bragg 2010, p34). The eight stages of Hart's participatory ladder can be seen in the diagram below.

The Ladder of Participation



Adapted from Hart, R. (1992). Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, as cited in www.freechild.org/ladder.htm.

Some (e.g. Pridmore 1998) found Hart's ladder to be a powerful evaluation tool. Others (Reddy and Ratner 2002) criticised the implicitly sequential nature of the model and its implication of hierarchical values. Treseder (1997) critiqued Harts model as failing to acknowledge cultural context. Treseder's own model of participation takes the top five levels of Harts ladder and arranges them in a circle, demonstrating that they are different, but equal forms of participation. Other models of participation exist such as Shier's model which

focuses more on the role of adults rather than the status of children within projects. Kirby and Gibbs (2006) criticised both Harts and Shiers models on the basis that each participation initiative or task cannot be assigned a single level of participation because levels of decision making power constantly shift within projects and within tasks. These various models of participation highlight the layered potential of participation and the ways in which engaging children and young people can be a complex and challenging process (Kellett, M. 2011, p5).

5.5 *Having a voice*

However, as explained there is a danger that young people merely participate in participation as explained in the quote below.

‘The continued involvement of children can only be achieved and sceptics, both adults and children, won over, if participation is shown to result in improvements to children’s quality of life. If participation becomes an end in itself, there is an inherent danger that people will not be open and honest about what does and doesn’t work’.
(Leveritt, 2008, p195)

One description of something more than participation is ‘having a voice’ which is the right to free expression of views that may, or may not be linked to participation. Lundy suggests that voice is made up of four parts:

‘Space: Children must be given the opportunity to express a view

Voice: Children must be facilitated to express those views

Audience: The view must be listened to

Influence: The view must be acted upon as appropriate’

(Lundy 2007, p933)

The right conditions need to be in place before children can exercise voice and before that voice can be heard in a way that influence society. Creating space for children to express their views is implied in Article 12 of the UNCRC. This means that professionals have to be proactive rather than passive in providing for, encouraging, and facilitating children to express their views in safe spaces without fear of reprisal.

The term 'voice' is probably most often heard in a school setting and is described as 'student voice'. It has emerged as the single term in educational research to encompass a spectrum of initiatives that advocate the redefinition of the role of students in research and educational change. Student voice is located within a complex web of school structures and cultures that are shaped by policymakers, school leaders, teachers, researchers and students themselves. In its most conservative form, voice means having a say when asked but without any guarantee of a necessary response, whereas in its most radical form it calls for 'a cultural shift that opens up spaces and minds not only to the sound but also to the presence and power of students (Cook-Sather 2006, p363)

Fielding also explores education and attempts to authorise young people's perspectives and interpretive frames, and to move them from being a 'data source' to a 'significant voice' (Fielding 2001). He outlines a number of models for student researchers, including dialogue, co-researchers, and students as researchers in their own right, shaping the direction and outcomes of research more directly. Fielding and Bragg identify a number of benefits to be gained from engaging students as researchers, for the young people involved, their teachers and their schools (Fielding and Bragg 2003). Indeed the principles of student voice have been effectively enacted within schools in different ways internationally, for example in Denmark where the Government has emphasised student voice as a vehicle for creating democratic schools (Flutter, 2007). In the United States where student voice has been about promoting diversity and breaking down racial and class barriers (Mitra, 2001), and in Chile where secondary students and university researchers co-investigated and designed innovative pedagogies and curriculum materials to develop education in democracy (Fielding and Prieto, 2002). The advocates of student voice have argued it improves schools in two ways. Firstly, it offers teachers important insight into learning, teaching and schooling from the perspective of different students and groups of students as 'expert witnesses' (Flutter and Ruddock, 2004, p4). Consequently, this work potentially challenges the passive role of students within schools and may redefine student teacher relationships as a joint endeavour in learning (Fielding, 2007). Secondly, they claim that student voice enables students to actively shape their education as citizens (Holdsworth 2000).

Clearly although 'student voice' is important, young children begin to participate and find their 'voice' before they go to school through everyday family practices and this learning continues throughout childhood as children gradually take up more opportunities in society to exercise agency. As Graham and Fitzgerald (2010) argue, participation is about relationships and shared responsibility that deepens inter-generational understandings. This, they suggest, takes place through dialogue. The interface of social participation and community agency is potentially a more powerful form of child involvement than simply instigating initiatives that emphasise 'voice', many of which imitate adult governance structures such as youth parliaments and youth councils (Thomas, 2007).

Open and honest dialogue is important when engaging with children and young people and this extends to providing them with information that enables them to judge if they want to respond to you and/or give you information about themselves. If you want to interview a child or young person then they need to know some context for what you are doing. They need to know what you are likely to do with the information they give you and why you are seeking it. An accessible explanatory leaflet or a verbal explanation is a basic requirement. If you are seeking personal information then it is courteous to offer some small personal details about yourself beyond your name in return. What work do you do? Do you have any children of your own? What is your favourite hobby? Sharing such information helps to balance the power relations (Kellett, M. 2011, p9). As explained within the methodology fieldwork chapter the author briefed the young people and this included details about himself, especially in the interviews if the young people had any questions.

5.6 Consent

Once children are in possession of sufficient information to enable them to make informed decisions then they need to give consent. This is likely to be in conjunction with a parent or guardian. There are different levels of consent. The lowest level of consent is assent, when consent is obtained from a parent and assent is assumed on behalf of the child. While this may comply with the legal requirements it does not satisfy ethical practice. Consent should always be additionally sought from children themselves, irrespective of their age. If children are not capable of giving formal consent then professionals need to satisfy themselves that the children are happy and willing to participate and that they are not being coerced in any way (Kellett, M. 2011, p10). Informed consent is the minimal ethical level of consent and involves

providing accessible background information in order that children and young people can make informed choices. However, on-going consent is a preferred level and requires adults to check at intervals that children are still happy to continue to consent (Kellett and Nind 2001). This is particularly important if, for example, a professional has interviewed a child and later wants to use the interview data in a report, or if video footage has been filmed and the professional wants to show it to a new audience. This opportunity to dissent without reprisal is equally important.

The right to anonymity and confidentiality is the same for children as it is for adults, however there are some additional complexities. There is a degree of protection offered by anonymity when relaying information provided by children. However sometimes children want to be identified as they feel proud about whatever part they have played and want this acknowledged. This has to be sensitively negotiated with the child and his or her guardian as it may not be in the child's best interest. Promises and confidentiality, too, have to be tempered with caveats about disclosure of abuse. The ethical rationale behind anonymity and confidentiality goes beyond a protectionist stance to the creation of safe environments where children feel able to communicate their views and emotions without constraint or fear of recrimination. When set up skilfully, this creates spaces where adults can more easily enter children's worlds (Kellett, M. 2011, p11).

5.7 Adult/Child power relationships

Power relations are inextricably connected to ethics. Strong adult-child relations can put children under pressure to become involved in activities and may result in coercion, either covert or explicit. While we can go some way towards counteracting power relations, we cannot negate them (Kellett, Robinson and Burr, 2004). Children, as a powerless minority group, struggle to have their voices heard or their views acted upon. One way of reinforcing adult-child power relations is the confining of children to the private spaces of home and family and keeping them away from the public arenas of policy and decision making. This reinforces a perception that children's participation in more public arenas is a gift for adults to bestow rather than a child's fundamental right to access (Hamill and Boyd, 2002). Historically, Western children have been silenced either through oppressive conventions that prize children being 'seen and not heard' or by their voice being distorted in the mediated accounts created by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists (Lloyd-Smith

and Tarr, 2000). It isn't easy for children without any authorial voice to challenge adult accounts (Hendrick, 2000). Power is not just about force but also the creation of knowledge which renders children doubly disempowered. As has already been highlighted, children's knowledge can be disregarded and they can still be controlled by force, however benevolently that force may be construed by adults (Kellett, M. 2011, p11).

A further factor that sustains unequal adult-child power relations is a belief that adults have superior knowledge. Undoubtedly this is the case in some areas of life but with regard to childhood, in the sense of what it is like to be a child, then children have the superior knowledge (Mayall, 2000). Location and context are also central tenants of power relations between adults and children. The school environment is prime example of this:

'School and schooling is experienced as something 'done' to the children, legitimised by a discourse which prioritises adult/future-orientated needs and expectation over present lived experience. The emphasis lies with the preparation of children as future citizens, equipped with the skills to contribute as adults to the needs of modern industrial/post-industrial society' (Devine, 2002, p312).

It is unlikely that we will ever fully neutralise adult-child power relations but it is better to acknowledge them than to pretend they do not exist. Sometimes the very acknowledgement of power relations leads to a scrutiny of practice that, in turn, minimises their negative impact (Kellett, M. 2011, p12).

When trying to minimise the effects of the power imbalance there are also strategies that can be adopted by adults to reduce the effect. There are some really obvious power imbalances such as height and strength. The height issue can be very quickly alleviated by sitting down but even here there are possible pitfalls. If you are communicating with children and young people from a sitting position, check if this is an open position or fortified behind a desk, while the child is more openly exposed. This is a common power tactic employed by adults when they want to impose their will on children such as a pronouncement by a head teacher or a juvenile magistrate (Kellett, M. 2011, p12), and was avoided by the author when interviewing the young people.

Location is just as important. When we want to talk to children and young people do we do this on their territory or ours? Do we think about power relations when choosing a location or does convenience take precedence. Superior physical strength can instil fear in children even if an adult does not intend to use it. Body movement's that could be interpreted in a threatening way such as pointing or jabbing should be avoided. There is a need to think about tone of voice as a question boomed out like a sergeant major is likely to make children nervous (Kellett, M. 2011, p13). Language use is a notoriously common power issue when engaging with children and young people. Inaccessible language not only reduces the effectiveness of the communication but also raises the power stakes, damages rapport, and closes down responses (Aoslin et al., 2009).

Of course engagement with children and young people is not always at an individual level. Frequently, it happens in groups. Other power dynamics are at work here, including child-child power relations (Kellett, 2010). In group situations power can be exerted by adults favouring some children and/or excluding others in the communication flow. Children have an acute sense of fairness and will soon detect if responses are being invited from the same few children. Those left out feel disempowered. This power imbalance can be exacerbated by the children themselves and we should not ignore the existence of child-child power relations. This might manifest itself as popular versus unpopular, articulate versus less articulate, white versus black minority ethnic, older child versus younger child, or able bodied versus disabled. Children can also become nervous if swamped by adults so consider also how a group adult approach might affect the power relations. For a child being interviewed by several adults there is no hiding place as there are always several sets of eyes peering at the child even if they are not talking at that moment. Equally, one-to-one interaction can be intense and anxiety provoking. It is a good idea to ask children if they would like a friend to accompany them. This often results in a much more relaxed and productive outcome (Kellett, M. 2011, p13).

Some of the operational issues around engaging with young people are also important, and the first one of these is valuing young people's time (Hartas, 2008). With the pressures on school performance, the prevalence of part time work, and their packed social lives today's youth are intensely busy people. This raises the issue of whether they should be paid for taking part in such activities and this will largely depend on the purpose of the enquiry by the

adult. A counter argument to young people being paid is that if a monetary reward is given, or is set too high it may attract young people for the wrong reasons, although this could also be said of adult participation.

Respect is the byword of effective engagement with young people. A non-judgemental approach that values what young people say and feel and does not allow dress, mannerisms, or language to detract from the worth of their contribution is highly recommended (Kellett, M. 2011, p18).

It may be that both operational and procedural ways of engaging with children and young people will vary depending on the subject area being examined, but there are also common themes to be followed. However the one that should be foremost in anyone's thinking in all engagement is, it is imperative to have a clear understanding of why you want to engage with an individual or group of children and young people. The reason for the engagement needs to be clear not just to yourself but to the children and young people you seek to engage with.

5.8 Participation and Engagement within the Criminal Justice System

In terms of engaging with young people involved in the criminal justice system, although these people have the same right to have their views taken into account as other young people, there is lack of strategic direction as to how this should be implemented.

'Only that individual can help adults to know what will really work for them, and more importantly what won't work. This is important for getting it right for all, especially where the adults might not know what life is really like for the individual child or young person' (NACRO 2008, p6).

Expectations are limited to the 'engagement' of young offenders, rather than enabling them to have a say in decision making. The focus is on participation in positive activities as a preventative measure. Once young people have become offenders, the expectation that they will be actively involved in planning is less evident. Instead, there is a focus on a narrower aspect of participation, that of user feedback. For example guidance to YOS on developing their youth justice plan mentions the need to engage with and seek feedback about the quality of YOS services from a number of sources. Throughout the English youth justice policy,

unlike in Wales, there is no mention of participation as a human right (Hart and Thompson, 2009, p11).

There are a number of barriers to such participative approaches described above , including political ambivalence about whether young offenders ‘deserve’ a say; staff culture and commitment; knowledge and skills in effective methods; the duality between the enforcement and enabling functions of the youth justice system which can inhibit young people’s willingness to be open. The involvement of young people in their own assessment is underdeveloped and, even where they provide useful information, this may not be used to inform the plans that are made by youth offending teams, courts or custodial settings.

The author has witnessed this in the Fairfield YOS where as a result of speaking to young people he suggested that having three options from which young people could choose an activity at referral order panels would help them be more involved in the process. The suggestion was apparently rejected on both practical and philosophical grounds. Young offenders have low expectations about their ability to influence the plans that are made for them but would welcome the opportunity to have more say, and the involvement of their parents is equally underdeveloped. Participative approaches can improve outcomes. If young people feel listened to, they value their experience and their behaviour is likely to improve (Hart and Thompson, 2009, p4).

This is not to say that young people’s views should always prevail, but that they must be respected and taken seriously. The young person is also entitled to an explanation about the way in which decisions have been reached, and the part their views have played. None of this can happen without the young person being supported to understand how the youth justice system operates: they cannot express an informed opinion about what they think should happen if they do not know what the options are. This information needs to be provided in a range of formats and take into account the young people’s age and level of maturity (Hart and Thompson, 2009, p8).

However, some might say that having offended the young person has relinquished their right to be heard, but even for those of that persuasion, the main reason to involve young people in participation in the criminal justice system is because it works:

‘whether the youth justice system works for individuals effectively can depend on their involvement in assessment, planning, implementation and review. The more that participation principles are adhered to, the better the chance of success’ (NACRO 2008, p6).

This has long been recognised and advocated by those writing about young people’s services, even in secure settings:

‘Programmes work best when they are carefully structured and the learning styles of individual offenders and the staff working with them are well matched. The learning style of offenders tend to require active, participatory methods of working’ (Utting and Vennard 2000, p21).

Advocates of the importance of a focus on desistance from offending, point to the necessity of ascertaining the views of young people and their families. They argue that, as the journey towards desistance is a difficult one for those undertaking it, then learning from them about what might persuade them to desist and what support they might need to reach that end, is critical (Hart and Thompson, 2009, p15).

So it would appear from this chapter that there is evidence and support for consulting young people about their behaviour, indeed it is an important element to ensuring improved behaviour in the future. But having decided to engage with young people, what is the best way to obtain information from them? The next chapter will examine the theories behind the methodology of collecting data, followed by a chapter describing how those theories were followed during the fieldwork and collection of data for this thesis.

Chapter 6 – Methodology Theory

6.1 Introduction to research methodology

What is research? Depending on whom you ask you will get very different answers to this question. However what is without doubt is that the answer to the question cannot be considered ‘scientific research’ unless it contributes to a body of science and it follows the scientific method. At its core, all scientific research is an iterative process of observation, rationalisation, and validation. In the observation phase, we observe a natural or social phenomenon, event, or behaviour that interests us. In the rationalisation phase, we try to make sense of the observed phenomenon by logically connecting the different pieces of the puzzle that we observe, which in some cases, may lead to the construction of a theory. Finally, in the validation phase, we test our theories using scientific method through process of data collection and analysis, and in doing so, possibly modify or extend our initial theory (Bhattacharjee 2012, p20). The following chapter will examine these methods from a general theoretical perspective to be followed in the next chapter by how that theory was applied during this particular piece of research.

Scientific research may take two forms, inductive or deductive. In the former the goal of the researcher is to infer theoretical concepts and patterns from observed data. In deductive research the goal is to test concepts and patterns known from theory using empirical data. Though both inductive and deductive research are important for the advancement of science, it appears that inductive research is more valuable when there are few prior theories or explanations, while deductive research is more productive when there are many competing theories of the same phenomenon and researchers are interested in knowing which theory works best and under what circumstances (Bhattacharjee 2012, p4).

Regardless of which form the researcher adopts they must follow the ‘scientific method’, which is a set of techniques for building scientific knowledge, such as how to make valid observations, how to interpret results, and how to generalise those results. The scientific method must satisfy four characteristics, the first of which is replicability. Others should be able to independently replicate or repeat a scientific study and obtain similar, if not identical results. The second characteristic is that of precision. Theoretical concepts, which are often hard to measure, must be defined with such precision that others can use those definitions to measure those concepts and test that theory. The third characteristic is that of falsifiability, as

described by British philosopher Karl Popper in the 1940's. A theory must be stated in such a way that it can be disproven. Theories that cannot be tested or falsified are not scientific theories and any such knowledge is not scientific knowledge. A theory that is specified in imprecise terms or whose concepts are not accurately measurable cannot be tested, and is therefore not scientific. The fourth and final characteristic is that of parsimony, which is also known as 'Ockham's razor', as the theory is attributed to Father William of Ockham. When there are multiple explanations of a phenomenon, scientists must always accept the simplest or logically most economical explanation. Parsimony prevents scientists from pursuing overly complex or outlandish theories with endless number of concepts and relationships that may explain a little bit of everything but nothing in particular. The scientific method as applied to social sciences includes a variety of research approaches, tools and techniques, such as qualitative and quantitative data, statistical analysis, experiments, field surveys, and case research and these will be described below in an examination of the research process. (Bhattacharjee 2012, p6).

6.2 Research Design

6.2.1 Planning and the literature review

The first technique is to ensure the research project has been adequately planned. This phase includes exploring and selecting research questions for further investigation, examining the published literature in the area of inquiry to understand the current state of knowledge in that area, and identifying theories that may help answer the research questions of interest (Bhattacharjee 2012, p20). The literature review is completed firstly to survey the current state of knowledge in the area of inquiry, secondly to identify key authors, articles, theories and findings in that area, and thirdly to identify gaps in knowledge in that area. Since deductive research involves theory testing, the next step is to identify one or more theories which can help address the desired research questions. These theories can be used as the logical basis for postulating hypothesis for empirical testing.

6.2.2 Deciding on the methodology

Once the decision to complete a study has been made, combined with choosing a theory or theories to test, the next phase is to design the research process. Essentially there are three main types of research process or methodology and these are reproduced in table 1 below as detailed by C.Robson in 1989, titled 'Real World Research':-

STRATEGY	METHOD	TYPICAL FEATURES
Experiment	Measuring the effects of manipulating one variable on another variable	Selection of samples of individuals from known populations, allocation of samples to different experimental conditions; introduction of planned change on one or more variables; measurement of a small number of variables; control of other variables; usually involving hypothesis testing
Survey	Collection of information in standardised form from groups of people	Selection of samples of individuals from known populations; Collection of relatively small amount of data in standardised form from each individual; usually employs questionnaire or structured interviews
Case study	Development of detailed intensive knowledge about a single 'case', or of a small number of related cases	Selection of a single case (or a small number of related cases) or a situation, individual or group of interest or concern; study of the case in its context; collection of information via a range of data collection techniques including observation, interview and analysis

One or more of the above process should be applied to any given project, with the choice being dependent on the purpose of the study. All research is ultimately dependent on measurement or the 'quantifying of any phenomenon, substantial or insubstantial, concrete or abstract, and involves the comparison of data being measured to a pre-established standard (Leedy 1989, p17).

6.2.3 Sampling

Which process is chosen will depend largely on who is to be studied, and this process known as sampling is fundamental within the social research process and is one of the first aspects to consider when planning a project. The way in which a sample should be designed will depend on the goals of the researcher. Some researchers select samples in order to maximise theoretical understanding while others are primarily concerned with obtaining a representative sample to make inferences about a whole population. In the latter case, a sample is studied to learn something about the larger grouping of which it is a part; this larger grouping is called the 'population' or 'universe' of enquiry (Gilbert 2001, p58). If researchers had the time and resources they might choose to study the whole population, but lack of these two commodities means a sample is normally used. However, researching a sample can yield more accurate results than studying the complete population. For instance, in survey research, if fewer people are studied, more resources can be spent on each person, for example, employing more highly trained interviewers, with more supervision and using coders who are more skilled. Decisions about sample designs must always take into consideration the trade-off between selecting a larger sample or studying a smaller one more intensively. Whatever the method of enquiry, researchers should consider whether they can generalise their findings to a wider group and the degree of confidence with which they can make such generalisations (Gilbert 2001, p59). This latter point is important for the survey to maintain credibility, and so the sample chosen, should share the same characteristics as the population, for example if half the population are female, then half of the sample should also be (Bhattacharjee 2012, p66). This ability to generalise findings is known as reliability and this together with the validity of the methods will be discussed in the sub-section below.

6.2.3.1 Validity and Reliability: Essentially validity measures whether the research process actually measures what it set out to examine, and the related topic of reliability looks at whether the results would be repeated given a similar set of circumstances. These two terms are different for quantitative and qualitative research and as both are used in this thesis, the variation between the two will be explained.

Validity in quantitative research has been described as determining:

‘whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others’ (Joppe 2000, p1)

As regards reliability in quantitative research it has been described as:

The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study.....and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable’ (Joppe 2000, p1).

In qualitative research some qualitative researchers have argued that the term validity is not applicable to qualitative research, but at the same time, they have realised the need for some kind of qualifying check or measure for their research. For example, Creswell & Miller (2000) suggest that the validity is affected by the researcher’s perception of validity in the study and his/her choice of paradigm assumption. As a result, many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terms, such as, quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). It is argued that this idea of trustworthiness as a concept of validity and reliability is “defensible” (Johnson 1997, p. 282) and therefore helpful in establishing confidence in the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although many critics are reluctant to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research, frameworks for ensuring rigour in this form of work have been in existence for many years, such as those suggested by Silvermann in (2001) or Guba who suggested qualitative researchers should generally seek to satisfy four criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. In addressing credibility, investigators attempt to demonstrate that a true picture of the phenomenon under scrutiny is being presented. To allow transferability, they provide sufficient detail of the context of the fieldwork for a reader to be able to decide whether the prevailing environment is similar to another situation with

which he or she is familiar and whether the findings can justifiably be applied to the other setting. The meeting of the dependability criterion is difficult in qualitative work, although researchers should at least strive to enable a future investigator to repeat the study. Finally, to achieve confirmability, researchers must take steps to demonstrate that findings emerge from the data and not their own predispositions (Shenton 2003, p 1).

For reliability in qualitative research some disagree whether such a concept even exists, although others merely state that when judging qualitative work, the "usual canons of good science'...require redefinition in order to fit the realities of qualitative research" (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p 250). Some say reliability is a concept to evaluate quality in quantitative studies with a "purpose of explaining" while quality concept in qualitative study has the purpose of "generating understanding" (Stenbacka, 2001, p. 551). According to Stenbacka "the concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good" (Stenbacka 2001, p 552). Paradoxically, Patton (2001) states that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. This corresponds to the question that "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). To be more specific in qualitative research the term 'dependability' closely corresponds to the term 'reliability' in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p 300).

6.2.3.2 Probability and Purposive: In order to achieve the last process of sampling i.e. choosing the sample, two types of sampling method are generally used, known as probability sampling and purposive or non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is where every individual element in a population is chosen at random and has a known non-zero chance of selection. Therefore the selection process is pre-determined and once the units have been selected the goal is to collect data from them all. In purposive sampling, the chance of selection for each element in a population is unknown and for some elements is zero. Probability and purposive sampling are appropriate for different types of research and at different stages of the research process.

Probability methods of sample selection are best if the researcher wishes to describe accurately the characteristics of a sample in order to estimate population parameters. Probability samples are also most appropriate for analytic studies, which involve testing empirical hypotheses. Where the researchers aim is to generate theory and a wider understanding of social processes or social actions, the representativeness of the sample may be less important and the best sampling strategy is often focused or judgemental sampling.

6.2.4 Qualitative or Quantitative

A further choice is then whether to use a quantitative or a qualitative approach to the research, or even a mixture of the two. Quantitative investigation entails adopting a numerical approach to the collection and analysis of data. This usually involves large scale empirical studies using survey techniques to collect data from representative samples of the population drawn from a wide geographical area. The aim is to produce useful factual data from which generalisations, often about characteristics of the society as a whole can be made. In contrast qualitative research provides a micro level perspective based on case studies or data collected from individual and groups. Here the emphasis is on smaller scale studies exploring the meaning that events and situations have for participants (Gilbert 2001, p34).

A distinction is usually made between these two approaches to data collection and analysis, and it is common to have them presented as two divergent and opposing methods of research. This situation has been described as positivistic versus interpretative (Giddens 1976). Due to space constraints there will be no further discussion on this. However as Pawson notes, contemporary sociological research is essentially pluralistic; researchers often combine quantitative and qualitative research methods within the same study. There is no need to be a prisoner of a particular method or technique when carrying out an enquiry (Robson 1993, p290). Some researchers prefer to use mixed methods approach by taking advantage of the differences between quantitative and qualitative methods, and combine these two methods for use in a single research project depending on the kind of study and its methodological foundation (Bryman and Burgess 1999, p45). Mixed method research strategies are particularly effective in policy oriented research and the contribution that qualitative research can make to policy evaluation is increasingly being recognised (Doig and Littlewood 1992). The information provided by qualitative case studies can be used to illustrate, explain and add depth to the findings of quantitative research (Bullock, Little and Millham 1995). This is

supported by Neuman who believed the multiple model enabled researchers to look at something from different angles (Neuman 2000, p124). This belief is not universal with some believing such a mixed model ‘fudges’ the issue by forcing together non-compatible data (Payne 1997, p108).

Once the sample group or frame has been decided, together with a decision on quantitative, qualitative or a mixed method the next task is to look at the three strategies available in table 1 to decide which is the most appropriate in the circumstances.

6.2.5 Experimental groups

Experimental research, often considered to be the ‘gold standard’ in research designs is one of the most rigorous of all research designs. In this design, one or more independent variables are manipulated by the researcher, subjects are randomly assigned to different treatment levels, and the results of the treatments on outcomes are observed. The unique strength of experimental research is its internal validity, or causality, due to its ability to link cause and effect through treatment manipulation, while controlling for the spurious effect of extraneous variable. Experimental research is best suited for explanatory research where the goal of the study is to examine cause-effect relationships. It also works well for research that involves a relatively limited and well defined set of independent variables that can be either manipulated or controlled (Bhattacharjee 2012, p83).

6.2.6 Case studies

Case study is a method of intensively studying a phenomenon over time within its natural setting in one or a few sites. Multiple methods of data collection, such as interviews, observations, pre-recorded documents, and secondary data, may be employed. Case research or study can be employed in a positivist manner for the purpose of theory testing or in an interpretive manner for theory building. This method is more popular in business research than in social science disciplines. Case research has a few strengths over completing research methods such as experiments and survey research. First, case research can be used for either theory building or theory testing, while positivist methods can be used for theory testing only. Secondly, the research questions can be modified during the research process if the original questions are found to be less relevant. Thirdly, case research can help derive better interpretations of the phenomenon of interest by virtue of its ability to capture a rich array of

contextual data. Finally, the phenomenon of interest can be studied from the perspectives of multiple participants and using multiple levels of analysis. At the same time case studies can also have some inherent weaknesses. Because it involves on experimental control, internal validity or inferences remain weak, although this is obviously the same for all methods except experimentation. Also because inferences are heavily contextualised, it may be difficult to generalise inferences from case research to other contexts or other organisations (Bhattacharjee 2012, p93).

6.2.7 Survey

The third strategy mentioned in table 1 is that of survey. Social research has sometimes been described as ‘detective work’, so that researchers can either

‘watch people and try to work out what is going on, ask them about it or look out for fingerprints or any other evidence they leave behind’ (Robson 1993, p53).

The watching method is known as observation, usually through interviews or questionnaires. This method can be delivered personally as a ‘face to face’ interview, in which an interviewer asks respondents questions designed to obtain answers pertinent to the research hypothesis, voice to voice over the telephone or by mail (Nachimias and Nachimias 1981, p188). All of these methods have strengths and weaknesses which are summarised in table 2 on the page below:

CRITERIA	PERSONAL INTERVIEW	MAIL	TELEPHONE	ON - LINE
Cost	High	Low	Moderate	Low
Response Rate	High	Low	High	Moderate
Control of interview situation	High	Low	High	Low
Applicability to geographically dispersed populations	Moderate	High	Moderate	High
Applicability to heterogeneous populations	High	Low	High	Moderate
Obtaining detailed information	High	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
Speed	Low	Low	High	High

6.2.8 Interview

There are three main types of interview, the first of which is the standardised or structured interview, in which the wording of the questions, and the order in which they are asked, is the same from one interview to another. This is most commonly used in market research, often

using tick box responses, and was not considered appropriate by the author in these circumstances. The second type of interview is the semi-structured interview, where the interviewer asks major questions the same way each time, but is free to alter their sequence and to probe for more information. The interviewer can thus adapt the research instrument to the level of comprehension and articulacy of the respondent, and handle the fact that in responding to a question, people often also provide answers to questions that were going to be asked later (Gilbert 2001, p124). The final type of interview is the non-standardised or unstructured interview, where the interviewer is free to call on a series of topics, in any order that seems appropriate. A criticism of qualitative research is that it is too imprecise to be taken seriously. The need for methodological rigour was stressed by Silverman who stated:

'I admit that my heart sinks whenever I read yet another 'open ended' interview study claiming to tell it 'like it is'. If this is one's bag, why obtain research grants and write scholarly papers? Better by far to turn on the TV and wallow in the undoubtedly 'human' and authentic pap' (Silverman 1997, p249).

As described by Miller and Glassner, the use of semi-structured interviews goes some way to satisfying this need for methodological rigour:

'Research cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, but it may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds. While the interview is itself a symbolic interaction, this does not discount the possibility that knowledge of the social world beyond the interaction can be obtained' (Miller & Glassner 1997, p100).

Another form of interview is obtaining information via survey. There are several ways to obtain information via survey, but some would not be appropriate in this case. Postal surveys are popular where the views of large numbers are needed, and use self-completion questionnaires. The questionnaires follow a standardised format in which most questions are pre-coded to provide a list of responses for selection by the respondent. The main advantage of this type of survey is that it is relatively cheap as interviewers are not used, analysis is easier, and respondents can fill out the form at a time convenient for them. The main disadvantages are the potential for a low response rate, and even if completed, the form could

be incomplete, illegible or incomprehensible (Gilbert 2001, p87). Telephone surveys have the same benefits as face to face interviews, but have the added benefit that it is possible to reach a wider population at less cost. Telephone surveys do have disadvantages in that certain groups, such as the poor, young, sick and disabled may have less access to the phone and therefore be under represented (Gilbert 2001, p89).

6.2.9 Designing the questionnaire

As will be explained in the fieldwork chapter the author made the decision to use a survey through use of a questionnaire as one of his main forms of collecting data, but this decision is just the start of the process. Constructing the details of a questionnaire is very important with numerous decisions to be made about questions wording, format and sequencing, all of which can have important consequences for the survey responses. Survey questions may be structured or unstructured, and responses to the structured questions are captured using one of the following formats. The first response is dichotomous response, where respondents are asked to select one or two possible choices, such as true/false. Secondly there is nominal response, where respondents are presented with more than two unordered options and thirdly, ordinal response where respondents have more than two ordered options. Finally there is interval-level response, where respondents are presented with a five or seven point scale and continuous response, where respondents enter a continuous value with a meaningful zero point, such as the age or tenure in a firm (Bhattacharjee 2012, p75).

Responses obtained in survey research are very sensitive to the types of question asked. Poorly framed or ambiguous questions risk meaningless responses with very little value. The task of researchers has thus been described as:

‘Directing empirical inquiry at social actors and at the way in which they actively engage in the construction of a social world i.e. the sense they make of their own and others’ actions and by attaching meanings and definitions to such actions, events and situations in order to understand for themselves what is happening, in order to predict what is likely to happen next, and also to prescribe their own future course of action’ (Jupp 1989).

To assist in the process and ensure a good questionnaire is produced there are several rules for creating good survey questions such as is the question clear and understandable, worded in a negative manner, ambiguous, have biased or value laden words, double barrelled, too general, too detailed, presumptuous, imaginary and importantly do the respondents have the information need to correctly answer the question Dillman (1978). It is also important what order the questions are asked and in general they should flow logically from one to the next. Other rules to be followed when writing are to be respectful of people's time and try to keep the survey as short as possible. Always assure respondents about the confidentiality of their responses and how the data obtained will be used.

6.2.10 Piloting the Questionnaire

The final important rule is to pre-test the questionnaire, preferably on a small sample drawn from the same population as the main body before using it in the field. Such pre-testing may uncover ambiguity or biases in question wording which can be eliminated before administering it to the intended sample (Bhattacharjee 2012, p80). From the pilot, the researcher will also be able to assess whether the line of questioning is appropriate and whether the document is understandable and simple to use (Gilbert 2001, p103).

6.3 *The Research Process*

6.3.1 Motivation of respondents to take part: In general the material rewards offered by researchers to participants taking part in a study are likely to be low. However, if individuals feel they have been specially selected and that their participation is highly valued, this may be sufficient reward. The researcher needs to introduce themselves and their organisation, and briefly state the aims and objectives of the research. In most instances the individual has nothing to gain from taking part in the research and it is therefore important to emphasise why the study is important and to make the individual feel that they will be making a valuable contribution to research by their participation. There is also a need to state why the individual has been chosen for the study, so a brief outline of the sample is useful. It is vital to stress that confidentiality will be maintained and that information provided will only be used by those involved in the research. It should also be stressed to participants that the report that will be completed as a result of the study will only include statistical information and unattributable quotations (Gilbert 2001, p103).

6.3.2 Bias: Despite its many strengths and advantages, survey research is often tainted with systematic biases that may invalidate some of the inferences derived from such surveys. Five such biases are the non-response bias, sampling bias, social desirability bias, recall bias and common method bias, and they will be explained below:

Non-response bias: Survey research is notorious for its low response rates, with fifteen to twenty percent being typical for a mail survey, even after two or three reminders. Such a high level of non-response gives rise to questions about possible systemic reasons for such rates, such as dissatisfied customers generally being more willing to respond to questionnaires about service, leading to a biased sample and poor results.

Sample bias: Telephone surveys conducted by calling a random sample of publicly available telephone numbers will systematically exclude people with unlisted telephone numbers, mobile phone numbers, and people who were not able to answer the phone, e.g. they were at work. A different kind of sampling bias relates to sampling the wrong population, such as asking teachers or parents about the academic learning of the students or children. Such biases make the respondent sample unrepresentative of the intended population and hurt generalisation claims about inferences drawn from the biased sample.

Social desirability bias: Many respondents tend to avoid negative opinions or embarrassing comments about themselves, their employers, family or friends. With negative questions such as do you think your project team is dysfunctional the researcher may not get truthful responses. This tendency to 'spin the truth' in order to portray themselves in a socially desirable manner can hurt the validity of the research. It is very difficult to prevent this in a questionnaire survey but a skilled interviewer may be able to spot inconsistent answers and ask probing questions to supplement respondent's comments.

Recall bias: Responses to survey questions often depend on the subjects' motivation, memory, and ability to respond. Particularly when dealing with events that happened in the distant past, respondents may not adequately remember their own motivations or behaviours or perhaps their memory of events may have evolved over time.

Common Method bias: Refers to the amount of spurious covariance shared between independent and dependent variables that are measured at the same point in time, such as in cross sectional survey, using the same instrument, such as a questionnaire. In such cases, the phenomenon under investigation may not be adequately separated from measurement artefacts, however tests are available to identify and avoid such bias (Bhattacharjee 2012, p81-82).

6.3.3 Ethical considerations: Ethics can be defined as ‘a set of moral principles and rules of conduct’. Ethics in research as one author puts it relates to:

‘the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wrong-doing others, to promote the good, to be respectful, and to be fair’ (Sieber 1993, p14).

One of the dilemmas when dealing with young people is that in every day social life, as described in the chapter on youth consultation, we either as adults parents or researchers, have tended not to be respectful of children’s views and opinions, and the challenge is to develop research strategies that are fair and respectful to the subject of our research.

It is important for the interviewer to look after the interview subject, as Neuman stated:

‘The researcher’s authority to conduct research, granted by professional communities and the larger society, is accompanied by a responsibility to guide, protect, and oversee the interests of the people being studied’ (Neuman 1994, p430).

The British Psychological Society Code of Conduct, Ethical Principles and Guidelines (1991) are not specifically about children, but has several passages about children in it. On consent, children are considered along with ‘adults with impairments’. The recommendation on consent is that where research involves all persons under sixteen years of age, consent should be obtained from parents or from those ‘in loco parentis’. The British Sociological Association and Association of Social Anthropologists have general guidelines that apply in social research with any humans subjects and the ASA guidelines make no specific mention of children (Morrow, p4), although they do provide some useful information and advice.

Firstly that negotiating consent entails communicating information likely to be material to a person's willingness to participate, such as the purposes of the study, and the anticipated consequences of the research; the identity of funders and sponsors; the anticipated uses of the data; possible benefits of the study and possible harm or discomfort that might affect participants; issues relating to data storage and security; and the degree of anonymity and confidentiality which may be afforded to informants and subjects. Secondly, the persons studied must have the legal capacity to give consent. Where subjects are legally compelled to participate in a piece of research, consent cannot be said to have been meaningfully given by subjects, and anthropologists are advised not to pursue that piece of work. Thirdly, consent in research is a process, not a one-off event, and may require renegotiation over time; it is an issue to which the anthropologist should return periodically. Fourthly, when technical data-gathering devices such as audio/visual-recorders and photographic records are being used those studied should be made aware of the capacities of such devices and be free to reject their use. Finally, the long period over which anthropologists make use of their data and the possibility that unforeseen uses or theoretical interests may arise in the future may need to be conveyed to participants, as should any likelihood that the data may be shared with other colleagues or be made available to sponsors, funders or other interested parties, or deposited in archives.

6.3.4 Conditions required for a successful interview: To ensure the success of an interview it is suggested that three conditions need to be satisfied. Firstly that the respondent possesses the information, secondly that the respondent understands what is required of them, and thirdly that they are motivated to give accurate answers (Moser and Kalton 1971, p244).

Taylor and Brogden also suggest considering where the interview is to take place, the time available to conduct the interview, and possible interruptions or distractions that could stop or prevent the free flow of information (Taylor and Brogden 1998, p99). It is recommended that researchers use an interview guide that requires certain items of information to be collected (Goode and Hatt 1952, p186). The use of a tape recorder is advised to record data, although it is pointed out that:

‘even if informants do not mind the fact that the interview is being taped, researchers should nevertheless try to minimise the tape recorders presence’ (Taylor and Bogdan 1998, p112).

Comparisons of tape recorded interviews with written interviews indicate that remarkably large amounts of material are lost in written ones, and it is therefore preferable if possible to use a recording device

‘Although we conducted no systematic study of this problem, our experience indicates that even a person who takes rapid short hand may lose one third to one half of the total material in an interview’ (Bucher, Fritz and Quarentelli 1956, p359).

Once the data has been collected following the above techniques it still needs to be analysed using similar best practice to ensure the data is used effectively. The next section will examine how this should be done.

6.4 The Analysis Process

6.4.1 Quantitative data: Numeric data collected in a research project can be analysed quantitatively using statistical tools in two different ways. Descriptive analysis refers to statistically describing, aggregating, and presenting the constructs of interest or associations between these constructs. Inferential analysis refers to the statistical testing of hypotheses. Much of this work is today conducted using software programmes such as SPSS or SAS, but before such software can be used the data must be prepared. The first step in this process is to ‘code’ the data so that each response from a person surveyed will be placed in a numeric format. Coded data can be entered into a spreadsheet, database, text file, or directly into a statistical program like SPSS. The entered data should be frequently checked for accuracy, via occasional spot checks on a set of items or observations, during and after entry. Furthermore, while entering data, the coder should watch out for obvious evidence of bad data, which would need to be entered but excluded from subsequent analysis (Bhattacharjee 2012, p120).

Missing data is an inevitable part of any empirical data set. Respondents may not answer certain questions if they are ambiguously worded or too sensitive. If possible such issues should be identified during testing of the questions and altered before the main data collection process begins. During data entry, some programmes automatically treat blank entries as

missing values while others require a specific numeric value such as -1 or 999 to be entered to denote a missing value.

Univariate analysis, or analysis of a single variable, refers to a set of statistical techniques that can describe the general properties of one variable. The frequency distribution of a variable is a summary of the frequency of individual values or ranges of values for that variable. For example, a researcher could measure how many times a sample of respondents attend religious services, as a measure of how religious they are, using a categorical scale such as never, once per year, several times per year, about once a month, several times per month, several times per week, and an optional extra of did not answer. If the number of observations are countered within each category as a percentage, they can be displayed in various ways, such as table or a bar or pie chart (Bhattacharjee 2012, p121).

The real analysis starts when you examine variables, not one at a time, but in pairs or more complex combinations, known as bivariate analysis, and the most common form of this is the bivariate correlation, often simply known as correlation. The point of this is to look at the relationship between variables, usually in order to explain differences on one variable in terms of differences on the other. The researcher is looking to discover if there is a correlation between the variables or more importantly a causal effect, but must always be wary of a third variable affecting the result and negating any possible causal effect (Gilbert 2001, p261). Researchers will usually always want to know whether the correlation is significant or caused by mere chance, and answering such a question requires the testing of a hypothesis.

In statistical testing, the alternative hypothesis cannot be tested directly. Rather, it is tested indirectly by rejecting the null hypothesis with a certain level of probability. The probability that a statistical inference is caused by pure chance is called the p-value. The p-value is compared with the significant level, which represents the maximum level of risk to be taken that the inference is incorrect. For most statistical analysis the significant level is set at 0.05. A p-value less than this indicates enough statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis, and thereby, indirectly accept the alternative hypothesis. If the p-value is > 0.05 , then there is not adequate statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis or accept the alternative hypothesis (Bhattacharjee 2012, p125).

6.4.2 Qualitative data: Qualitative data are words rather than numbers, which help describe and explain. But words can also be ambiguous and difficult to compare objectively, so that reliability and validity of any interpretation is a serious concern and therefore there is a need to be able to demonstrate how the conclusions were reached from the data available (Robson 2002, p. 459). It is never clear how much of a verbal description of one instance carries over to other instances. One observer's description, however precise, may not concur with another's.

'It is easy for a qualitative researcher to jump to hasty, partial, unfounded conclusions'
(Miles and Huberman 1984, p21).

Key to successful qualitative analysis is the need for the researcher to become thoroughly familiar with the data and to devise a practical system that enables rigorous comparison to be made between interviews while retaining the context of data within each interview. Qualitative analysis involves systematic, rigorous consideration of the data in order to identify themes and concepts that will contribute to the understanding of social life. These themes and concepts can then be compared and contrasted with similar material in other interviews (Gilbert 2001, p137).

One possible problem with such a system is the effect the interviewer may have on the validity and reliability of the data, particularly in non-standardised interviews. On the other hand, it is easy to overstate the problem of interviewer bias. It is suggested that

'much of what we call interviewer bias can more correctly be described as interviewer differences, which are inherent in the fact that interviewers are human beings and not machines' (Selltiz and Jahoda 1962, p41)

As well as interviewer bias there are several other ways that the interview data can be corrupted such as misdirected probing and prompting, neglecting the cultural context of the parties involved, and problems with the questions themselves. These are mostly capable of being overcome by quality control measures. However the logic of analysing interviews at all

is based on assumptions that can be challenged, and so the researcher needs to be conscious of these and any possible criticisms.

One such assumption is that language is a good indicator of thought and action. Attitudes and thoughts are assumed to be a direct influence on behaviour and, in turn, language is presumed to be an accurate reflection of both. However many studies question whether expressed attitude is an accurate indicator of what people have done, or will do. The relationship between attitude and action has to be empirically tested in all cases, so that collecting information about people's attitudes is only one part of any study concerned with explaining or predicting behaviour. These problems are one of the reasons multiple method studies are desirable (Gilbert 2001, p139).

The above chapter briefly outlines the theory behind effective research methods and the following chapter will describe how the author put those theories and practices to best use during his research over a period of three years.

Chapter 7 – Methodology in Practice (The Fieldwork)

7.1 *Introduction to the Fieldwork*

As was discussed in the introduction, the aims of this research were firstly to establish if the perception of youth crime is accurate and if not the possible reasons for this. Secondly whilst accepting that the perception of the level of youth crime and poor behaviour might be exaggerated, youth crime does happen, so what are the causal or significant factors for this and is what governments have done to prevent such behaviour been the most effective interventions. This part of the thesis was largely completed by a study of existing literature, although findings from the thesis were taken into account. The main primary investigative thrust of the thesis was to examine what young people felt were the best ways to alter their behaviour in the home, in school and in society.

The experiences of the author in his years as a police officer, especially in some of the roles he performed as an Inspector, combined with preliminary research for this project convinced him that what was being done within schools and the criminal justice system to influence behaviour may not have been the most effective in terms of altering that behaviour. The suggestion of this research is that what currently happens to control young people's behaviour in all phases of their lives i.e. home, school and on the street is not the best way to deal with such behaviour. That the people saying this are largely the young people themselves and that a wider sample needed to be spoken to, to establish this and enable generalisations concerning behavioural control to be made. The study therefore explains why it is important to speak and consult with young people, how this should be and was done, and the analysis and results from this study. The following chapter follows the layout in terms of sub headings of the previous chapter looking at how the theory of methodology was put into practice during this study to examine the research design process, the research process itself and the analytical processes involved. The table containing the time-line of the fieldwork is contained in appendix six at the rear of the thesis.

7.2 *The Research Design*

7.2.1 Planning and Previous Literature: As the literature says the planning phase of any research project is one of the most crucial areas (Bhattacharjee 2012, p20). As has been described in the introduction the author approached this research project initially largely as a practitioner who wanted to make a difference and improve the lives of young people. At the

time he commenced the planning phase he still held the post of Inspector within Fairfield police with responsibility for reducing youth crime and anti-social behaviour. In the first year of the project for a variety of reasons he was not closely monitored or supervised. This lack of supervision, combined with being an inexperienced researcher and an enthusiastic and committed practitioner meant the author did not plan the research to what he would now consider to be an acceptable standard. This was largely due to being more concerned with the results as a way of dealing with actual behaviour in Fairfield as opposed to a purely research thesis. This resulted in an initial lack of clarity about what exactly the research was trying to achieve and the methodology required to achieve the specific aims, although this was subsequently rectified. As a result of this lack of clarity too many initial avenues of inquiry were opened which although providing useful information concerning behaviour could not be followed through due to practical time considerations, and these avenues of enquiry will be discussed in the section below, together with the methods that were chosen to be used during this thesis. That said, despite this initial lack of knowledge and supervision the author made decisions that subsequently when both knowledge and supervision reached an adequate level proved to have been the correct decisions. An example of this would be in sampling where possibly due to the skills acquired as a police officer the author knew the importance of triangulation of information to ensure the validity of the data. His initial decisions concerning the choosing of the groups to be studied and how the data was to be recorded and analysed subsequently proved to be correct having fully considered the theory of research as discussed in 6.2.2. The full details of these and other decisions will now be discussed below.

7.2.2 Deciding on the methodology: As described above the initial supervision of the author was very light but although it resulted in time being spent on areas that were not subsequently significant for the project, it did not negatively impact on the methods chosen for this project. This is partially due to there being no rules which to slavishly follow about what is right and wrong about which processes to use. Each choice made brings with it a set of assumptions about the social world it investigates. Each choice brings with it a set of advantages and disadvantages. Gains in one direction will bring with them losses in another, and the social researcher has to live with this (Denscombe 2003, p3). The section below will describe the decision making process of the author and the rationale for the decisions made.

Accepting the above about no right and wrong methodologies for research, as the table shown at 6.2.2 by Robson states there are basically three types of methodology to be chosen from, and which are used depends on various factors. One of the main factors on which to base this decision is the sample on which the research is to be conducted, and why the particular schools and young people were chosen for this research will be described below.

7.2.3 How the Sample was chosen: As described by Dillman in his tailored design method, part of the planning of a survey is to decide who would answer the questions. In order to obtain the opinion of young people in Fairfield on effective interventions, best practice would have been to obtain the attitudes and beliefs of all the young people of the borough by asking all of them the questions. However, for practical reasons it would not be possible to survey all young people in the borough. An ethical, fair and practical way of choosing who to speak to therefore had to be devised, that would best represent the demographic of the borough. Obtaining access to research subjects can sometimes be a problem for researchers. However due to his police responsibilities, together with the relationships he had established with other professionals dealing with young people and also through his school governor role the author had access to almost every young person in the Borough of Fairfield. This included most Primary and Secondary school children, and young people within the criminal justice system through his contacts within the YOS.

Therefore which young person to speak to was decided after seeking advice from approximately a dozen teachers in schools which the author had connections due to his work. They recommended the author speak to key stage three pupils as some of the teachers were concerned about any further distractions in key stage four, which is the GCSE period. Some YOS staff from Fairfield who were also spoken to in preparation for the study suggested that key stage three pupils, aged eleven to fourteen years old, are the most receptive to interventions, and would therefore be the most willing to answer any questions posed. So for both ethical and practical reasons key stage three students were chosen as the young people to answer the questions, but the actual schools still had to be selected.

At that time in Fairfield the Children's Trust divided the borough into four areas, called Children's Area Partnerships (CAP's), although this system of management of children's matters is no longer used in Fairfield. The four schools chosen were selected on the basis of

one from each of these areas. The schools chosen meant that there would be a good variation in location and also that the young people would be reasonably representative of the demographic of the borough, and thus give good variation in terms of gender, race, nationality, ethnicity, religion and social background, and go a long way to satisfying any issues of validity of the research in terms of the young people chosen.

Since the thesis was looking at behavioural issues it also made sense to choose schools where there were more behavioural problems than others. In terms of validation of the research this again seemed appropriate as it negated the challenge that the results were corrupted by only involving schools attended by young people whose behaviour was less of an issue. The process therefore involved choosing the 'most challenging' schools, in order to have a good selection of young people who had failed to conform to expected behaviour. The police viewed a school to be 'challenging' depending on factors described in a Home Office matrix combining academic achievement with deprivation. However, just before the questions were tested, a further and more complex matrix was produced by the Metropolitan Police, which confirmed that the four schools chosen were suitable in that they were all in the top eight on the list of eighteen schools, in terms of concern to the police. The final consideration in choosing the school was a practical one and involved the degree of co-operation previously demonstrated by the head teacher of the school in terms of partnership working, to try and ensure good co-operation over the three year period between the school and the author.

An important point in terms of validity was how long to collect data to produce the best results. Clearly collecting over a single year would have given weight to the criticism that the results could not be generalised as this group of young people were unusual. The author was aware that each year group often had its own characteristic from his work as a school governor where a particular year group was above or below the average for that school in terms of academic ability. It therefore seemed a logical progression to suggest that each year group could also be different in terms of emotional intelligence or behaviour. As a result of this the author chose to study the young people over a three year period which he felt was sufficient time to get representative results. The decision to anonymise the research meant that the study could not be longitudinal but cross sectional, and although not being as strong in terms of validity the author felt it necessary to get the full co-operation of the subjects and therefore the best and most honest answers. He was especially aware of the latter point in

view of his work role and the possible affect that could have which will be discussed further in sub-section 7.3.2 on potential bias.

The final point in terms of validity is the number of people who will be part of the sample group to be interviewed one to one, together with which groups to be looked at. Clearly the more people interviewed and groups examined the stronger the evidence, but this has to be balanced against practicalities such as the amount of time and resources available to complete the research.

One such decision in terms of numbers had to be made when one of the original schools chosen to complete the questionnaire indicated they no longer wanted to take part. All schools used have been given a number rather than being individually named, to avoid any adverse publicity that could have resulted from the analysis of the information. In School 5 in the first year of the study the questionnaire was sent to the point of contact to organise the year group who would be completing the questionnaire having previously obtained agreement from the Head Teacher for the school to be involved. However, the teacher showed the questionnaire to other teachers at the school and they felt the content of the form to be too explicit and challenging for year seven students at this school to complete. They thought change would be required to the form to make it acceptable. It was explained that the other three schools had not felt the same about the form, the students at these schools had answered the questions without any issues, and it was important to retain the questions as they were to ensure consistency. The head of year maintained his position and it was therefore agreed that the school would no longer take part in the research project.

A decision was required as to whether to replace the school which had withdrawn or just use three schools. The decision was to replace the school to make sure the number of pupils completing the form would be above five hundred to ensure a good sample size and the reliability of any findings. School 1 was chosen to replace the original school, as it was in the top three schools in terms of the list of issues of concern within the matrix. Although this now meant that no school was included in the project from CAP area three, it was felt the selection process had not been compromised, as according to school records, School 1 pupils had a reasonably similar demographic to School 5. This also meant the project now had three of the top four schools in terms of identified risk on behaviour by the police and community safety

unit involved in the project. The school was approached to be part of the project, a briefing was held for senior leaders to explain the project and they agreed the school should take part. A letter was sent to the homes of all the pupils and no parent asked for their child not to take part in the research. The process was then similar to the other schools in that a briefing was held for all pupils followed by completion of the questionnaire in a hall together or in their form rooms.

The number of schools involved then became three again due to issues with school 4. In the first year at this school the process was similar to the other schools. However in 2011/12, the person at the school who had responsibility for the project had changed and this required a meeting to explain the rationale for the research and develop a degree of trust with the teacher who was to supervise the project. Unfortunately, although many e-mails were sent asking for the meeting, and the head of year eight kept asking the teacher responsible to make contact, at the beginning of January 2012 the teacher had yet to respond. The teacher eventually made contact but again proved unreliable in trying to organise the questionnaire and the decision was made to withdraw this school from the research project.

The decision was taken to remove this school and not to try and replace with another school as the number of pupils taking part from those three schools was now known. These three schools still provided a sample of over five hundred students, 'n' being five hundred and twenty two in year nine, which was felt to be an acceptable number as a representative sample. Also the three remaining educational establishments were all in the top four positions in the matrix of concern and so it was felt the answers of the pupils involved would give an accurate picture of the opinions of the young people of the borough as regards behaviour.

One consideration in this decision was that the author worked full time, had a full family life and had no research assistants so time was a factor. It was this that caused the academic supervisor to recommend limiting the number of subjects interviewed one to one to fifty and the curtailing of several avenues of enquiry that would have added to the validity of the thesis but also added many months to how long it would have taken to produce the findings. Also from the limited work completed with some of these groups the limited findings seemed to support what was already known rather than provide new findings and so the author is comfortable with the decisions made in terms of the validity and reliability of the study. So having decided on how many subjects would be involved in the schools sample group who

were subject to the quantitative study a decision was also required on the qualitative subject group. Who would be interviewed one to one, why were the particular subjects chosen, and which groups were chosen to be worked with or not as the case would be will be described in the sub-sections below.

As well as the choosing young people and schools that would be part of the sample to answer the questionnaire the author needed to choose individuals and groups to take part in the thesis by being interviewed and being involved in group work in order to add ‘the meat to the bones’ as described when discussing methods chosen. As a result of performing his police role the author had developed an excellent working relationship with the head teacher of the exclusion unit of the Fairfield Secondary Tuition Centre, also known as the pupil referral unit (PRU). This had been achieved over several years during which time he had visited the unit on a regular basis and had spoken to the young people on many occasions, both in groups and individually. Although this level of contact had been required due to his police role after the literature review the author was aware it also satisfied the recommendations of Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Erlandson et.al. (1993) that “prolonged engagement” between the investigator and the participants was necessary in order both for the researcher to gain an adequate understanding of an organisation and to establish a relationship of trust between the parties. All of the pupils within the unit had been excluded from other secondary schools at least once and sometimes twice. Their opinions as to the reasons why what had been previously tried to control their behaviour, but had failed, and why they generally behaved better at the unit would therefore be a valuable source of information.

The author initially intended to use the same age group as those questioned in the secondary schools but was advised against this by the head teacher of the PRU. He stated that he thought that due to the level of maturity of the young people in the unit it would be far more advantageous to interview the key stage four pupils as they were much more emotionally resilient. The author considered this advice and was aware that if he followed this suggestion it would allow people to highlight that the ages of the two cohorts were not comparable and therefore criticise the findings and conclusions based on the validity of the research groups. However he accepted and acted on the advice as he was aware of his duty of care to the young people being interviewed, as Neuman stated:

‘The researcher’s authority to conduct research, granted by professional communities and the larger society, is accompanied by a responsibility to guide, protect, and oversee the interests of the people being studied’ (1994, p430).

In terms of the choice of the other subjects to be interviewed, decisions were based on trying to get a general feeling for what rationale people used to make decisions concerning crime, ASB and gang membership, together with how young people were treated within the criminal justice system. Therefore firstly to try and gain an insight into the particular issues associated with gang membership, and also as access to such people was available, two ex-gang members were interviewed. The two men interviewed are both now in their twenties but had started offending from an early age culminating in drug dealing and violence. Both of the young men interviewed were paid employees of the youth charity co-founded by the author called YEP, and therefore as described in section on the process itself several methods were used to ensure the rigour of the research. Two magistrates were interviewed to try and establish why they administered the punishments and interventions they did, and how much their decisions could be influenced by other factors and people, such as YOS workers. Three teachers were interviewed for the same reasons concerning the disciplinary sanctions used in schools and again what influenced their decisions as regards which intervention to administer.

Some of the most important decisions on sampling are why certain groups were not spoken to, and one such group was parents. From the initial literary review and also talking to young people and others over several years it was apparent to the author that parenting played an important part in the behaviour of young people. The author therefore initially spoke to the manager within the Local Authority with responsibility for parenting to discuss a scheme that had been established to improve parenting, called the parent engagement panel (PEP). This scheme had trained one hundred and eighty six parents in 2009/10 and she was hopeful up to three hundred parents would be trained in 2010/11 which she felt had greatly improved parent’s abilities. However, she had not cross referenced this with the behaviour of the young people in the care of these parents, and accepted the need to do this. Unfortunately, this was again another area where the academic supervisor felt this would be too much information for this project and so it was agreed to review this project in the future. The PEP continues to be regarded as successful although there has still been no real cross referencing with young

people's behaviour to establish any statistical significance to the training. Several other lines of enquiry were also stopped but usually after initial attempts had been made and therefore the reasons those groups were stopped and the work completed are described elsewhere.

Finally as was described in the chapter on sampling theory one of the considerations for a researcher should be whether they are able to make generalisations from their findings taken from their sample to a wider group or the general population, also known as the reliability of the research. Partly to try and nullify criticism of the age differential between the quantitative and qualitative research subjects and partly to allay any suggestions that the results were specific to Fairfield and could therefore not be generalised outside this borough the author initially sought to expand his research outside the borough. Due to contacts made with many other professionals working with young people throughout London, and therefore access to some of the young people they worked with, initially it was hoped to complete a small comparative study within London to provide alternative data to assist triangulation. Several youth workers known to the author from a previous Pan London intervention were contacted, and some of them agreed to take part in the study. In January 2011 a youth centre in another South London borough was visited and two groups of young people from a youth and community centre were spoken to, to be known as Groups 1 and 2. Group 1 was aged eleven to fourteen and Group 2 was aged fifteen to seventeen. Despite the usefulness of any results towards improving the validation of the data for practical reasons the academic supervisor suggested there was not the capacity to complete this comparative work and this avenue of enquiry was not pursued any further. However, the young people in the two focus groups in South London gave very similar answers to those of the young people in Fairfield who were interviewed and although a very small sample size, it is plausible to suggest that this would be the same throughout London.

Once the decision on which schools and which pupils within those schools, together with selected adults were to make up the sample population, a decision still had to be made on the best method of extracting the information from those young people. The next sub-sections will deal with the author's choice of using qualitative or quantitative methods, and whether the information was best obtained by using experiments, case studies, interviews or surveys.

7.2.4 Qualitative or Quantitative: The author was aware that quantitative research is often seen as stronger than qualitative research in terms of the ease of proving its validity and reliability. However he was also aware that qualitative methods enabled researchers to obtain much fuller and more detailed answers. On balance the author was persuaded by the mixed method approach and chose to use a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative research for this project, feeling the former would add the ‘meat’ to the ‘bones’ provided by the latter. He was aware of the need to ensure the validity of the thesis and the guidance and ideas offered by Silverman, Lincoln and Guba concerning how this could be best achieved. He also used advice from Bowling ensuring rigour of methodology in qualitative questioning as a good yardstick with which to judge such rigour throughout his project. Although a couple of points are more specifically aimed at qualitative research he attempted to stick to the following guidelines in dealing with his methodology:

- 1] Was the theoretical framework of the study and the methods used, always expedient?*
- 2] Was the context of the research clearly described?*
- 3] Was the sampling strategy clearly described and justified?*
- 4] Was the fieldwork clearly described in detail?*
- 5] Were the procedures for analysis clearly described and justified?*
- 6] Were triangulation methods used to test the validity of the data and analysis?*

(Bowling 2002, p354)

In terms of the validity of the decision to use the mixed method, as the theory on methodology states as described by Robson (1993), Brysman and Burgess (1999), and Doig and Littlewood (1992) there is no uniformly correct way to carry out research. If the decision had been made to use an exclusively quantitative method more students could have been included in the sample population. However the author does not believe this would have significantly added to the reliability of the findings. If a decision had been taken to exclusively use qualitative methods it is likely the author would have had the capacity to continue with his triangulation work in other London borough's which would have improved validity. Due to his previous lack of experience of using a data analysis tool like SPSS, and the many hours of inputting data required for this tool, this would have been the easy choice for the author to make. However the data and findings from the quantitative work would have been lost which would have significantly reduced the validity of the process. Upon reflection

at the end of the process the author is sure that the decision he made to use both quantitative and qualitative methods was the most effective to ensure good validity and reliability for the thesis.

Having decided to pursue a mixed methods approach to obtaining data the next decision was to decide the details of how this would be achieved. To maintain a symbiosis with the previous chapter the next sub-sections will firstly describe why experimental groups or case studies were not used, followed by sections on why a questionnaire and semi structured interviews were chosen.

7.2.5 Why Experimental groups were not used: The first process suggested by Robson (1989) in table 1 at section 7.2.2 was that of experimental design, and the most popular form of experimental design is where the researcher studies two groups, one of the groups being exposed to an independent variable, and one group not being so exposed. The use of such an experiment was ruled out, as although there was sufficient access to enough youths to devise sample and control groups, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to control the behaviour of the youths, and therefore impossible to keep them in their respective control groups, and avoid the process becoming corrupted. Also, and more importantly, if an intervention proved successful it would not be ethical to deny such an intervention to the control group. In fact, this type of research is rarely conducted by criminologists for the practical reasons outlined above and ethical reasons in terms of being difficult to justify why one group should be treated preferentially compared to another (Vito et. al. 2007, p12).

7.2.6 Why Case studies were not used: The second process in table 1 was that of case study, which focuses on a single case or a small number of cases, often using several methods. This was a method that was considered as being possibly suitable in some circumstances, and discussions initially took place with the managers of the Youth Offending Service to see if a suitable number of young people were available. Although tacit agreement was initially reached, case studies from the YOS were not used immediately, due to possible problems with the young people not co-operating due to the involvement of a police officer, and discussions concerning too much primary research for this particular project. There was also a hope, as knowledge of the research grew, and that the ‘prolonged engagement’

between the investigator and the participants talked about by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Erlandson et.al. (1993) would be achieved, and that within the YOS possible barriers may be broken down, and so any one to one interviews and detailed case studies with YOS clients were delayed. A decision was subsequently made to concentrate more on information from the three schools and the pupil referral unit, and so YOS clients were generally spoken to in group environments. A YOS manager asked if some research into the effectiveness of prison visits undertaken by YOS clients, both male and female, could be completed. Therefore some of these YOS clients were interviewed using semi structured interviews and some took part in group discussions, after prison visits, but no case studies of YOS clients were completed.

At the initial planning stage of the research a further opportunity for case studies arose within the Family Intervention Programme (FIP). The FIP in Fairfield was the borough response to the governments troubled families agenda. This dealt with families who had multiple needs, specifically in receipt of out of work benefits, children with persistent absence from school, members involved in ASB, or who had multiple and complex needs included substance misuse. The family received intensive support included group and individual work and home visits resulting in whole family assessments and the support of a key worker. In Fairfield the FIP ceased to operate but the troubled families programme is still a significant government agenda which in Fairfield is now referred to as the Change and Challenge programme.

The manager of the FIP was approached to see if some of the families involved would be willing to take part in a case study. The idea of looking at some of the families was agreed by the FIP management board, on which the author sat at that time, and suitable families were to be identified by the manager of the project. However some of the families had chaotic lifestyles but did not have issues with offending and some did not have issues with young people. The families chosen were from those remaining families, with the main consideration being the family's willingness to take part in the study. However, after an academic review, again due to practical time constraints, and the advice of academic supervisors, this line of research was suspended after only one family had been interviewed. A mother and two sons who both had several criminal convictions, were interviewed on three occasions. It was hoped to return to this area in the final year of research, but lack of time prevented this. However, just these few interviews with this one family proved enlightening, and this area will be pursued in separate research after this thesis.

The only other research that may be classified as case studies are two one to one interviews carried out with YEP workers, both of whom were former gang members. They both had a different path out of criminality and gang membership and some of the findings from these interviews will be reflected in the later chapter on findings from the research.

7.2.7 Method of choosing the survey: The third and final method mentioned in table 1 is to obtain information by survey. There are several ways to obtain information via survey, but some were not considered appropriate in this case. As mentioned at 7.2.7 postal surveys are popular where the views of large numbers are needed, and use self-completion questionnaires. As is mentioned above when considering sampling it would often be considered best practice to obtain the views of all the subjects in a sample and this method could have been used in an attempt to hear from all the young people attending school in Fairfield. However as well as the previously documented disadvantages of postal surveys of low response rate, and incomplete, illegible or incomprehensible responses (Gilbert 2001, p87) the pilot event described in section 6.2.10 had revealed the importance of individual briefings to the young people completing the survey to ensure the best results. This would not have been possible using a postal method and so this method was dismissed as an option.

The strengths and weakness of telephone surveys are noted at 6.2.7 and the weakness of possibly not being able to access certain groups such as young people (Gilbert 2001, p89) was noted by the author. However in his experience nearly all young people now have access to a mobile phone and carry it with them at all times and so he no longer felt this weakness applied to young people for this reason. The decision not to use telephone surveys was based on both practical and ethical grounds. Practically the cost of phoning all the students was considered and would not have been an issue due to an unlimited call package available to the author. However the time involved in phoning all the students would have been restrictive and so not an option, although a selection process could have been applied similar to that used to select the schools and students. Consequently this was not an issue as a telephone survey was rejected for ethical reasons. The author has been working with young people both as a police officer and as a youth charity manager and worker for several years. He has therefore received much training on child protection and safeguarding issues and was aware of the possible dangers of dealing with young people. As he already had supervised access to

the students in their schools, and was also aware of the importance of briefing them prior to completing the survey he did not feel that telephone surveys would be the most effective method of data collection on this occasion.

The third method of survey is that of interview, and although as with other methods there are disadvantages (Dillman 1978) these can and were overcome by careful planning. There are three main types of interview, standardised or structured, semi-structured, and non-standardised or unstructured interview. For the quantitative element of the data collection the author chose to use a structured format similar in style to a postal survey. This would enable the disadvantages of a postal survey such as the non-completion rates, and certainty as to who has answered the question to be allayed. The structured format also allows for the replication of questions so all subjects answer the same questions, and to assist in this process the author briefed all young people completing the questionnaire to ensure they all had the same understanding and meaning of certain words, such as anti-social behaviour. The rationale for decisions about the one to one interviews will be described in the next sub-section.

7.2.8 Interview: Semi-structured interview, rather than structured interview were used to achieve methodological rigour to ensure a degree of similarity in the nature of the interviews, in order to be able to compare the responses of the young people, but also to maintain a degree of flexibility to ask follow up questions. One-to-one semi-structured interviews were also used, as they allow for in-depth exploration to elicit views and opinions (Cresswell 2009 p181) and enable the questioner to probe the views and opinions expressed by the interviewee (Grey 2009 p373). This further exploration of answers did occur with many of the subjects and it would have been easy to allow the young people to talk freely to obtain a maximum amount of information. However in order to allow a much better analysis of the information obtained through the qualitative process, and to achieve the rigour required to ensure validity and reliability subjects were sometimes moved on to the next question, rather than be permitted to continue to talk.

7.2.9 How the questionnaire was designed: Part of the planning required for the thesis was the careful choice of questions. The questions asked were a mixture of open and closed questions. The advantages of closed questions was the ease of data analysis, thus making it less time consuming for the author, which was important as realistic time scales were essential. They are also easier for the respondents to answer when using a questionnaire,

without an interviewer being present, and to assist further, a pre-coded response was provided. However, some open questions were asked to obtain a fuller answer, although the author was aware these could sometimes provide a problem in terms of responses being ambiguous and difficult to analyse. Other factors such as the order they were asked together with the importance of making the questionnaire visually appealing were considered. The instructions needed to be simple and as short as possible. Due to the age of the respondents involved, and the fact that it was a self-completion questionnaire, there was an awareness of the need for clarity in the questions, once again to avoid possible confusion and therefore invalidate answers. For this reason it was concluded after the test of the questionnaire that the author needed to be present at the schools when the young people filled out the form. This ensured they were comprehensively briefed so that all questions were understood and where necessary clarification was available from the author.

Finally there was also an awareness by the author that to ensure good validity the questions asked needed to ensure they were going to answer the main questions being asked by the thesis. The details of why questions were chosen will follow below but the flow of the questionnaire was to look at behaviour in the order of home, school and justice system, followed by an examination of involvement in perceived risky behaviours.

Due to his experiences as a police officer and after an initial review of the literature the author had an idea of the areas that needed to be enquired about, and that may have an influence on the behaviour of young people. Also although the author made the decision to make the questionnaire anonymous in order to achieve a more truthful answer from subjects he still needed some information about each candidate. Questions were asked about the gender of subjects as from his experience in both the criminal justice and education systems the author was aware that males appeared to misbehave more than females and wanted to test this. He was also aware that there was an over representation of non-white prisoners incarcerated in England and Wales compared to the general population and again wanted to therefore test in this area. From his police experience and initial literary review it was clear that family make-up may be statistically relevant, and so a question about the carers looking after the young people was considered necessary.

In the initial test questionnaire there had been a question about understanding right and wrong but as ninety seven percent answered this question in the affirmative and the author was aware of the need not to ask too many questions it was assumed that this figure would remain constant and the question was dropped. Also dropped after the year seven questionnaire was a question about number of siblings and size of house. It had been initially asked as some educational professionals spoken to by the author, together with information obtained during the literary review suggested that overcrowding had an adverse effect on young people and their behaviour (Reynolds 2005, p8) However, there appeared to be little evidence of many young people living in over-crowded conditions in Fairfield after analysis of the year seven responses, together with a review of the first twenty one to one interviews. Only one of those first twenty young people interviewed stated that sharing a room with his brother caused him to misbehave and therefore again as the author was anxious not to ask too many questions this question was dropped from the year eight and nine questionnaires as the issue was not felt to be statistically relevant.

The next questions about young people's leisure activities, together with those of their parents and friends were asked firstly as some evidence from the literature review suggested a positive effect on behaviour whilst some was less conclusive. Interestingly after a fuller examination of previous literature and research it would appear there is very little evidence linking leisure to positive effects on behaviour. Also one of the findings from the author's previous research in Fairfield was that young people's participation in leisure was linked to whether their parents were also involved in leisure activities and he wanted to establish if this was still the case.

The next question concerned what parents had tried to in order to positively influence young people's behaviour and asked if it had worked. The options given as possible answers were chosen after talking to many young people about what types of discipline their parents used, together with giving them the option of 'other'. However only a small number of subjects answered 'other' and the author is therefore satisfied that the options offered were correct. The next question concerned if parents discussed with the young people what would work to affect their behaviour. This was asked due to speaking to young people in the years leading up to the commencement of the research, where they appeared to be saying parents didn't ask them, which helped contribute to the title of the research.

The next questions concerned a similar process for discipline used by the schools to influence behaviour. Again the options given were as a result of speaking to young people, but also this time as well as speaking to teachers to establish what options were available to them, and again very few people answered 'other' and so the author is confident the options given to choose from were correct. The next question was again asked as young people stated they were rarely asked what would work, especially the pupils in the referral unit the author had spoken to over the previous years.

The next few questions were asked to establish the level of crime and ASB committed by the young people, but also whether they were caught as a result of committing this crime, as the authors experience as a Police Inspector talking to young people was that they were often not caught for their criminal activities. There is previous research on self-reported levels of youth crime, three examples of which are the MORI annual youth survey completed between 2001-2005, the OCJS survey between 2003-2005 and the YLS survey between 1992-1998. The levels of self-reported youth crime was fairly static between 2001 and 2005 at between twenty five and twenty seven percent. Asking the question again here would both establish current levels of offending for comparative purposes, and if similar may provide a degree of affirmation about how representative the sample population was. The young people were also asked what was their reasoning if they had stopped offending as one of the main tenants of the thesis is the criminal justice system did not use the most effective interventions, and that question would help to confirm this.

The next three questions asked were about influences in young people's lives as the initial literature review revealed previous research which stated that peers, parents and schools all had an influence on the behaviour of young people (Muncie 2004, p239) and (Smith 2007, p46). This confirmed the experiences of the author over the previous several years whilst dealing with youth crime.

The next six questions were about young people's knowledge of various topics which again the literature review revealed were considered by some to be risky behaviours in terms of negatively influencing young people's behaviour. Risky behaviours are those that potentially expose people to harm, or significant risk of harm which will prevent them reaching their

potential. Some risky behaviour is normal and part of growing up. However, there is a 'line' which when crossed leads from normal/curious/experimental behaviour to behaviours that put children and young people or others at risk and could escalate the behaviour to a harmful stage. This "line" can be different according to societal norms. It should be acknowledged that although children and young people may not be actively participating in behaviour, observing or being exposed to the behaviour can have an impact on their own behaviour, as peer association can result in involvement (Blencowe 2011, p4). A question was asked about knowledge of pregnancy at the behest of the teenage pregnancy unit of the Local Authority, but was removed after the first year due to the low response rate compared to other questions. The other risk areas chosen were drugs, guns, knives, alcohol and gangs as the author's experiences during his policing and charity work suggested that these were areas with a negative association to behaviour, together with reading prior to commencing the research.

After a review of the data obtained by questionnaire and analysis of the responses from the first year, and also after half of the one to one interviews were analysed some additional questions were added for the second and third years. These questions were also influenced by further reading completed during the first year of the project. As a result of this the author had cemented some of his views about what influenced people's decision to commit crime and ASB, or behave badly at school or in the home. These additional questions concerned parental or sibling imprisonment, and poverty as indicated by workless parents or the requirement to accept free school meals. The other additional questions concerned obtaining more details about the perceived risky behaviours in terms of what drugs or weapons had been used and how often in the last year. The author added these questions as he became more aware of the need to obtain more detailed information to ensure validity of the research.

As well as wanting to ensure the correct questions were asked to obtain the answers being sought, the author was aware of a few more guidelines to ensure the best data was obtained. The questions asked were a mixture of open and closed questions. The advantage of closed questions was the ease of data analysis, thus making it less time consuming for the author. This was important due to other demands on the author, so realistic time scales were essential. They are also easier for the respondents to answer when using a questionnaire, without an interviewer being present, and to assist further, a pre-coded response was provided. However, some open questions were asked to obtain a fuller answer, although the

author was aware these could sometimes provide a problem in terms of responses being ambiguous and difficult to analyse. Due to the age of the respondents involved, and the fact that it was a self-completion questionnaire, there was an awareness of the need for clarity in the questions and language used, once again to avoid possible confusion and therefore invalidate answers. For this reason the author concluded after the test of the questionnaire that he needed to be present at the schools when the young people filled out the form. This ensured they were comprehensively briefed so that all questions were understood and that there was a consistency about what certain terms meant, such as ASB.

The above subsection describes how the questionnaire was designed. One of the crucial features to ensure a well-designed questionnaire is to pilot or test the document and the section below will describe how this was done.

7.2.10 Piloting the questionnaire and processes: In order to ensure that the initial questions chosen were of a good standard before being referred to the ethics committee of the university, they were tested on the pupils of year's seven to ten from School 2, one of the secondary schools in the survey. The test was completed during a safety intervention week at the school, where with the permission of the school, seven hundred and seventy four pupils were spoken to, although fourteen pupils spoilt their paper, making the number actually completing the test questionnaire seven hundred and sixty pupils. Before they completed the questionnaire, all the pupils were given a briefing by the author to ensure they had a good idea of what was expected of them, and why they were being asked to perform the task. The same rules described in the theory of methodology about ensuring appropriate interview conditions were applied during the test, which included informing the pupils that their participation was voluntary. Twenty groups were spoken to during the course of the week and various problems were discovered as more groups looked at the questionnaire, some of which were dealt with in subsequent briefings. All the pupils were advised that it was an anonymous process and they were not to put names on the front or to complete the section at the end. As the pupils were to be asked about behaviour at home and at school it was important to establish they knew what the terms 'right' and 'wrong' meant and so a question was asked about this. The results were conclusive in that ninety seven percent knew the difference. As a result the question was withdrawn from the final version as it was assumed that the majority of all pupils did know the meaning of these terms, in order to keep the number of questions

within a manageable number. There were a few other issues with the questionnaire and these along with the questionnaire itself can be seen in the appendix five.

Part of the test was to establish how much time would be required to analyse the data obtained as the author was still working full time whilst completing the research and therefore time management and being aware of time constraints would be important. During the test to complete the assessment of the results of year seven took approximately ten hours. The time was slightly less assessing the subsequent years due to becoming familiar with the assessment method, however it was apparent the time required for full analysis of the questionnaire would be considerable. This was even more so when factoring in the requirement to enter all information collected on to SPSS if a data tool was to be used. Other methods of data collection that were less time consuming such as using an electronic voting pad system were therefore investigated to see if a more time efficient system was available, but were rejected due to the impracticality and cost of using such a system.

There were a few significant features of the findings from the test questionnaire, and as the information was anonymously obtained, there were no issues with confidentiality. These were passed to the Borough Police Commander and the joint Directors of Fairfield Children Service's for consideration and action if appropriate. The questionnaire had been designed and tested, and this document would also be the guide for the semi-structured interviews to be carried out in the PRU. To ensure that the questions were appropriate for one to one interviews the author tested them on a group of six of his daughter's friends aged fourteen and also a couple of young people who were volunteers for his charity.

How the document was used during the process will be described in the sub-sections below after a look at general topics relevant to the research such as the motivation of young people to take part, potential bias, and ethical considerations. The final sub-section will look at the conditions necessary to achieve the best results in interview or when a questionnaire is completed, and how this was achieved during description of the fieldwork itself.

7.3 The Research Process

7.3.1 The motivation of the respondents to take part: The author was aware of the arguments for and against providing a form of financial reward for taking part in the survey.

He had considered offering a small voucher or cash incentive to each pupil of £10 but on reflection and taking the advice of the head teacher of the exclusion unit he choose not to do so. Both the author and head teacher felt such a reward could possibly distract the young people from what the research was about and could lead to bias in some of the answers given, and as some literature states, often making the subject feel valued and explaining the importance of their contribution is enough. The author did this in fairly lengthy briefings to both the young people answering the questionnaire, the groups that were worked with, and those interviewed one to one. As explained during the discussion on bias there was a low rate of spoiled papers, but also over the three years the majority of subjects completed a high percentage of the questions asked which the author believes as it took approximately thirty minutes to complete, indicates that the subjects were very motivated to answer the questions and understood their importance.

7.3.2 Potential Bias:

7.3.2.1 General Bias: As was mentioned in the corresponding theory section there are several forms of bias that may affect a research process and included in the planning of any project, should be an attempt to try and anticipate such problems. As with any self-report data, there was the possibility that reported behaviours will be exaggerated or falsified, and researchers can do little to protect data from such corruption. Steps were taken to protect the data from corruption due to unintentional errors, such as social desirability or recall bias, by ensuring that the importance of the form was explained to the youths before they completed it. There was an awareness of the need to make the questionnaire as simple as possible to ensure the opinions of those respondents who did not have English as a first language or had literacy problems were heard. This was especially important due to the number of students in Fairfield who have English as a second language. As well as general bias the author was aware that his position as a police officer and an adult may have affected outcomes and this is discussed below.

7.3.2.2 Possible Bias caused by being a Police Officer: The status of the author as a police officer, may have attracted unusual attention or treatment, and his ability to conduct independent research may have been called into question due to being seen as a police officer rather than a researcher, which may then have had the potential to influence the outcome.

There was also an awareness that his position, as an adult in a position of authority may also have had the possibility of corrupting the information given, as Coleman et.al. (2004) noted:

‘in trying to understand our communication behaviour it is essential that we recognise the effects of the inequality between the generations’ (Coleman et.al. 2004 p234).

In order to maintain as impartial perspective as possible, this was constantly reviewed. Consideration was given to using young people from the Youth Engagement Panel (YEP) to either help interview, or actually do all the interviews, to avoid this possible corruption of the information. The YEP is a registered independent charity formed of a group of workers and volunteers from the community aged seventeen and above who are used by the police, other statutory partners and other groups in Fairfield to engage with the young people from the borough. They have experienced and dealt with many of the issues that other young people have in their own lives such as criminality, teenage pregnancy, homelessness, or being unemployed and not in training, and full details of the project are in appendix one. Due to the willingness of the young people to answer questions truthfully and apparently very honestly, this option was not used. However, to ensure this remained the case throughout the research some volunteers from the YEP asked the young people if they remained comfortable with the process, and spoke to the young people about the author and this undoubtedly increased his credibility with some of the young people, and increased their willingness to be truthful.

There were almost no ‘spoiled’ questionnaires or inappropriate answers during the three years of data collection, and although there is no infallible way to prove that bias was not an issue in the research, the author believes this provides a strong indication that the students appreciated the importance of the research, and that bias was not an issue.

7.3.3 Ethical Issues:

7.3.3.1 Consent: The author was aware that this research would be classed as non-routine, that is, it would involve questioning vulnerable people, and so there was an awareness of the need to ensure good ethical standards at all times. It is important to recognise ethical principles in research by being vigilant and self-critical, constantly reviewing the work in progress. Researchers:

‘should strive to maintain the integrity of sociological inquiry as a discipline, the freedom to research and study, and to publish and promote the results of sociological research including making data available for the use of researchers in the future’

(BSA 2005).

This is especially so when looking at issues of consent (Buckland and Wincup 2004). All the head teacher’s from the four schools were spoken to and also the Fairfield Secondary Tuition Centre (FSTC) and all stated they did not believe a separate letter to the parents was required. Initially therefore the research started with the year seven pupils and some of the one to one interviews at the PRU without issuing such letters. After several months research an academic supervisor indicated that correct parental consent would be required in the form of a letter to the parents. It was agreed a retrospective letter could be sent to the parents of the pupils from year seven and interviewees asking them if they had any objections to their child taking part. The letter was sent and no parent objected to participation. From this point on the schools sent a letter at the start of the academic year informing the parents, and all parents of pupils at the PRU received a letter in advance of an interview, as did others or those involved in groups. The author put his personal details including his mobile phone number on the letter and only one parent rang him to enquire about the survey. No parent objected to their child taking part in the survey.

7.3.3.2 Informed Consent: However, even after consent is obtained, the importance of the research does not entitle the researcher to ride roughshod over the rights of respondents, and this was especially important in this study due to the age of the respondents involved. There was an awareness of the importance of ensuring the youths were not deceived or coerced to participate and the nature of the research was not withheld and was adequately explained. Participants were treated fairly, with dignity, respect and were not exposed to acts that would diminish their self-esteem, invade their privacy or expose them to mental or physical stress. All the questions were designed to avoid invasion of privacy or distress, and participants were advised that they could terminate interviews or withdraw from the research at any time. They were also told in a briefing, before commencing the questionnaire that they did not have to answer any questions that they do not want to (Grey 2009 p387). An example of ensuring no upset was caused, was that at the request of the Local Authority teenage pregnancy unit a question asked in the first year of the questionnaire enquiring if young people knew enough

about pregnancy, was removed in the following two years as there was a low percentage of people who answered this question. Enquiries with some young people as to the possible reason revealed that females were not comfortable answering this question, especially Muslim pupils, of whom there were many.

Not upsetting the young people, together with a desire for them to be truthful was the reason that the decision was taken to use a cross sectional rather than longitudinal study. Both are observational studies but the cross sectional study is more of a snapshot in time as opposed to looking at research subjects over a period of time. Although according to teachers up to twenty students at each school might have been different due to leaving school, the majority of the students questioned were the same young people over the three years. However they filled in the questionnaire anonymously and therefore there was no way to track their previous answers, and so although as a group of young people it is a study over time, it is more accurately, three snap shots in time using largely the same subjects.

7.3.3.3 Confidentiality: During the research, should any information have been discovered that was considered subject to conditions of confidentiality, the author was aware there is a duty of care when dealing with it to the supplier of such information. He informed the subjects that unless there had been a risk of harm or injury, or a criminal offence or serious breach of school discipline, information would remain anonymous.

In terms of ethical issues or a conflict between the interviewer's position as a police officer and as an academic researcher, there were only two occasions when a decision had to be made by the author. Generally the offences admitted to by the young people were historic, and incapable of proof, so there was no need to deal with the issues as a police officer, although it quite often elicited a general conversation at the conclusion of the interview. However there was an awareness that he was there as a researcher not a police officer, and that:

'the social scientist has no business attempting to 'adjust' people to the moral norms of his society or any other' (Polsky 1971, p142).

The first occasion of possible conflict involved one of the young people being witnessed purchasing drugs on the street. The opportunity to deal with the issue as a police officer at the time did not exist due to another commitment and she raised the issue next time they saw each other, where a general discussion took place about drugs. The young person was already well known to the drugs service so her welfare was adequately protected and there was no need to create a further 'police' report, as the dealers details were not known, and she did not wish to volunteer that information.

The second occasion where there was a conflict was a case involving a young woman who stated her boyfriend was a gang member and that he had a firearm with ammunition in his possession. After considering the issue during the night, and concluding that she was telling the truth, a decision was made that the information could not be ignored due to the possible serious consequences, and it needed to be dealt with as a police officer not a researcher. However the following day, before any action could be taken about the information it became apparent that the address had been 'raided' early that morning, a search warrant had been executed, and indeed a firearm and ammunition had been found. No arrest was made as the young man was not there at the time, although he was subsequently arrested for the offence, but she was never used as a witness in the case.

7.3.4 Conditions required for a successful interview

7.3.4.1 Questionnaire completion in the schools: The methodology and processes used in each school were very similar and also with each of the three year groups so to save space this will only be described once. All the schools were visited in the first term of each of the three academic years, initially to obtain consent from the head teacher and then to brief the teachers responsible for the year group. If there had been a change of staff a more detailed briefing to the teachers was required to build up their trust and confidence in the project. This was important as the teachers would be the people supervising pupils that returned to their classrooms to complete the questionnaires, and so their motivation needed to be high to ensure a good quality response from the young people.

The author briefed all the pupils together, usually in the school hall, about what the questionnaire and thesis was about, and answered any questions they had. The author ensured the three conditions suggested by Moser and Kalton (1971) were satisfied. This was achieved

by the briefing to the whole school and briefings at the start each group and interview. The author ran through who he was, the rationale and details of the project, the fact that it would be anonymous and confidential unless they revealed a serious offence, or something which might lead to harm to themselves or another person in which case he stressed they needed to be aware he would have to act as a police officer. He stated that taking part was completely voluntary and they could choose not to take part if they wished to do so, or not answer individual questions. Finally he stressed to the young people that this was their chance to voice their opinion, and that hopefully things may change as a result of what they said, if they gave accurate and honest answers.

In the schools this briefing generally took approximately twenty minutes, and afterwards some schools had the pupils remain in the hall and fill out the questionnaires while others had the pupils retire to their individual form classes to complete the questionnaires. In both cases the author made himself available to answer further questions, which he was sometimes required to do. At the completion of the lesson the questionnaires were collected and returned without any major problems.

7.3.4.2 One to One interviews

Interviews of permanently excluded pupils: Permission was obtained to interview the pupils at the pupil referral unit, the rationale for choosing the sample chosen was explained earlier, and the interviews commenced in January 2011. Three hours were set aside each Monday morning, with two or three being taken out of a lesson and interviewed each day, depending on the fullness of the pupils' answers. Semi-structured interviews were used, for the reasons described previously. Despite speaking to the whole school of staff and pupils in an assembly the author ran through at the start of each interview all the details previously mentioned, and was always very clear this was a voluntary process and they did not have to take part and could return to their lesson if they wished.

The author had interviewed many people in his role as a police officer and was aware of the need to create a relaxed atmosphere in order to get the best results and was also aware of conditions suggested by Taylor and Brogden. These conditions were accommodated by arranging to complete the interviews in the head teacher's office, which meant there were no interruptions, except for on a couple of occasions where they took place in another office due

to the head teacher needing his office. The author was aware of the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the young people to be interviewed and the need, in order to ensure people were at their ease, to consider any cultural differences. For example eye contact, silence and seating position, where in some cultures the first two would be considered rude and the latter would be considered rude if the interviewer sat with their feet towards the interviewee.

An interview guide is suggested and the author used the questionnaire answered in the schools for this process, with supplementary questions being asked when required. The interviews lasted between forty minutes to an hour and a half depending on the level of engagement of the young person and the need to ask supplementary questions. Despite the suggestion by Bucher et.al. (1956) about the amount of information that may be lost writing down the response of subjects as opposed to other methods, this was the method chosen to record subjects responses.

There was an initial intention to use a voice recorder to record all questions and answers that could be played back later to ensure accuracy. The first couple of interviewee's were asked if they were happy with this method of recording information and they replied they were. However at the first break clarification was sought on this with the first interviewee and he expressed his concern with what would happen to the tapes. Questioning of others revealed the majority shared this concern. The author was mindful of his role within society at that time and did not want to cause the young people undue stress, or indeed risk information being corrupted by use of the voice recorder. There was an awareness that this was not the best method to record information but the benefits of accurate information were outweighed by the possible anxiety caused to the young people and also the possibility they would not answer questions in full due to the presence of the recorder. Although a note taker would have helped with ensuring accurate recording of information, and a member of the YEP could have been used to do this, the option was rejected. This was discussed with a few of the young people at the exclusion unit and they felt two people in a small room interviewing them would have been intimidating, and hence the option was rejected.

Clarification was sought with each interviewee at the start of the interview that they were happy for their answers to be written down, and they were briefed not to be put off if anything was or wasn't written down after any particular question. To try and ensure accurate recording of information, clarification was regularly sought with the interviewee about what

they had said, and whether it had been correctly understood. After the interview to try and check if the note taking or the interview process itself had effected or inhibited the interviewee, conversation was continued to gauge if there was a similar or different response, and no change was noted. After the interview, to ensure as much information as possible was recorded, the interview was generally transcribed the same day, and for the few where this was not possible it was always done no later than the day following the interview.

Interview of ex-gang members: To try and gain an insight into the particular issues associated with gang membership, another group of people, although subsequently only two people, were interviewed one to one, and these men were two ex-gang members. The two men interviewed are both now in their twenties but had started offending from an early age. Both of the young men interviewed are paid employees of the youth charity co-founded by the author called YEP. Therefore it was important to ensure ethical rigour and prevent allegations that either had given answers simply as they believed it was what the author wanted to hear. The earlier comments of Coleman were noted concerning the inequality between generations and also in positions of authority (Coleman et. al. 2004, p234). All the concerns of ethical issues noted earlier and applied to the interview of the young people in the exclusion unit were also applied when interviewing these two young men. The only real difference was location of the interviews which took place in the charity base, but again the concerns relating to conditions for the interview were applied. Both of these men were interviewed when the majority of other research had been completed, and they were therefore also questioned regarding some of the apparent emerging findings from this research, with which they agreed, and some of their responses are reflected in the findings.

Interview of Youth Magistrates: As part of his role, the author sat on a liaison group with the youth court magistrates and YOS staff and again it was apparent there was a lack of knowledge in the group about what was the most effective intervention for the magistrates and YOS to use in terms of affecting behaviour. To try and gain an insight into the thought processes of magistrates serving in the youth court as to why they administered a particular intervention to a particular individual two of them were interviewed in an attempt to make the new youth referral order as effective as possible. Both were white males of approximately sixty years of age who had many years of experience in the youth court. They were interviewed in their homes where the premium interview conditions could be obtained and

both were briefed as the young people had been prior to the interviews. Both gave similar accounts of their rationale for making decisions. Due to time constraints no further magistrates were interviewed despite several offering to do so. Interviews of some YOS managers and also a very limited number of YOS clients did occur, which provided limited findings in this area. Again a much fuller separate review of the referral order process will be completed, separate to this thesis as a piece of post-doctoral research.

Interview of Teachers: After the first years data had been analysed and as part of the review process to ensure the quality of the questions and good validity, three teachers responsible for behaviour at the schools assisting with the thesis were interviewed. One was male and two female and all had responsibility for behaviour at schools 1, 2 and 3. Although all were very familiar with the rationale and workings of the thesis, all were given a limited briefing and also reminder that their participation was voluntary prior to the interviews, which occurred in their office at their respective schools. They were asked about what young people said about life in general in terms of behaviour and specifically what schools did to try and positively affect behaviour. As the first year's data had now been analysed they were also asked about the initial findings to see if there was anything that they found not representative of their own experiences, which interestingly they did not. No other teachers were interviewed partly out of practical time issues and partly for reasons of validity as the thesis was primarily trying to establish what young people thought.

7.3.4.3 The process used when interviewing groups

For practical reasons not all young people that the author wished to speak to could be interviewed individually and the sub-section below will describe the group work involved with young people involved in prison visits, reparation and KCPP within the YOS, together with a FIP family,

Prison Visits: One intervention that had anecdotally been successful for the police and YOS in Fairfield was that of prison visits, and a YOS manager asked if a more detailed analysis could be completed. As a result of this the permission form that is sent to all parents to get them to agree to a prison visit was altered to reflect the author's presence, the reason for it, and permission for the young people to take part. No parent objected to the use of any information obtained from the visits being used for academic research.

On the date of the first visit eight young men aged between fourteen and seventeen who were all on referral orders took part in a prison visit, where they went inside the prison and spoke to some of the prisoners who run an intervention. The author had been due to attend but urgent work related business prevented him doing so. Therefore the YOS worker who accompanied them was requested to ask them the questions from the school survey in a group session, and to ask them about the visit, but in fact she got them to fill in the questionnaires themselves, and asked them questions about their answers. The author clarified that the YOS worker had briefed the young people as he would have done and she confirmed she had, although clearly in terms of consistency with other briefings, there is no way to further clarify this. However, the young people still provided a source of useful information. There was a mixed feeling from the young people as to whether the prison visit would help them stop offending, and some of the information provided is reflected in the research findings.

There was a subsequent request by a YOS manager to monitor and assess the success of more prison visit interventions, as she had arranged twelve visits for YOS clients for both male and females. A planning meeting took place, and it was agreed the author would attend as many visits as other commitments would allow. The author attended a female visit to Send prison and a male visit to Coldingley prison in October 2012. After this, the academic supervisor again suggested that this line of research cease due to time constraints, and this is a further area for subsequent research, which the YOS manager has confirmed is still required.

The male visit started with a meeting at the YOS at 7.30am where eventually nine young men turned up to attend the prison. They were aged between fourteen and seventeen, with an ethnic mixture of six black men, two white men, and a dark skinned European. The traffic on the M25 was very heavy and the trip took longer than normal, which meant the young men got bored. Introductions were made on the bus and as usual there was much conversation about how police interact with young people, and with some of the young men on the trip in particular. An assessment was made that due to the attitude of a couple of the young men and to 'E' in particular it would not be advisable to go through the questionnaire or hold a focus group, so there was a general discussion about their attitudes to crime and life instead. Upon arrival at the prison, all property was required to be handed in and some of them struggled

with this concept. They were lined up and we were all searched although no dog was used to discover drugs/phones. The group went to a room that was specifically assigned for the purpose of the 'Keepout' scheme, where they introduced themselves and everyone got name badges. The offences the prisoners had committed and the sentences received with time served so far were written on the board.

The first exercise was an 'ice breaker' commonly used with groups of young people to break down barriers and lighten the mood at the start of sessions, as it gets every person involved, and on this occasion also used to discover peoples' offending history, with all but one admitting to previously smoking cannabis. All had previously stolen something, four were either in a gang or associated with those who were, seven had previously been expelled from school, five had previously committed a robbery, four either were or previously had been on TAG, and eight had previously drunk alcohol.

The second exercise was about perceptions and a prisoner went through all the words on the board describing the offences the prisoners had committed, to establish the boys understanding of them. The boys then voted on which prisoner had committed which crime, and the prisoners went through them, with three of them giving a more detailed account of what happened to them. The boys did not match any of the five prisoners to the correct offence and sentence. The first prisoner described how he had been convicted of GBH through use of joint enterprise, he had actually not personally injured anyone but was with co-defendants who had. The second prisoner stated he has been convicted of possession of firearms and drugs with intent to supply, and received a sentence of nine years and had served two years of that sentence. The third prisoner stated he had been convicted of murder during a robbery for which he received a life sentence and had served eleven years of that sentence. The fourth prisoner had been convicted of conspiracy to rob and received a nine year IPP sentence (Imprisonment for Public Protection) sentence of which he had served five and a half years. The final prisoner had been convicted of murder under joint enterprise and had received a Her Majesty's Pleasure (indeterminate) sentence and had served five years of this sentence.

The next exercise was called 'about you' where the boys were asked to talk about themselves, and they gave the following commentaries:

‘L’ stated he has stopped offending by not hanging round with the wrong people

‘J’ stated he had offended due to hanging with the wrong people and that attending college had helped him to stop.

‘A’ stated he had been convicted of a joint enterprise robbery.

‘E’ stated he had committed robbery to get money. However when questioned by a prisoner admitted that he got money off his parents so didn’t need the money. He then said it was also fun.

‘T’ stated he had committed robbery but could not give a reason why. He then said ‘quick money’ but more in response to the prisoner as his English was poor.

‘H’ stated he had committed robbery to get quick money.

‘J2’ stated he had committed robbery for the fun.

‘C’ stated he had committed GBH and robbery but could not give a reason.

‘G’ stated he had committed robbery but gave no reason.

The boys were thanked for their honesty and contribution by one of the prisoners.

The next game was a music game where all young men and prisoners stood in a circle and were asked to name a music star, but they were out if they could not think of one or used a name already used. It was explained at the end in order to play the game they had used listening skills and concentration, and that these were important skills to use in life generally.

The next exercise was Police v Offender where they looked at the assets of each to see who had the advantage, and they broke into three groups to discuss this for twenty minutes. They worked through all the assets the offender has in order to commit a crime and then looked at the list they had compiled of police assets and were able to nullify each offender asset. At the conclusion it was established that offenders only had luck on their side. The prisoner stated that everyone thinks their luck won’t run out but five hundred prisoners in the prison would all testify theirs ran out so ‘think about what you are doing’.

The final exercise before lunch was the ‘responsibility line’ where a prisoner told a story of young people involved with drink and drugs and then a robbery and asked each boy where on the line they thought the offender should go in terms of being responsible for their actions. Half chose the middle due to the effect of the drink and drugs and half made him one hundred

percent responsible. There was a discussion about responsibility although no conclusions were made.

Lunch was then taken in the room with the young men sitting down with the prisoners to ask them anything they wanted, with many questions about what it is like in prison. After lunch the next exercise was 'goals tree' where one prisoner explained his goal was to get to a lower category prison, and he explained how he was going to achieve this. They then split into groups, and after twenty minutes some of the boys were asked to explain their goal trees.

The next exercise was a role play by three of the prisoners of what it is like coming to prison for the first time. It dealt with the humiliation of being strip searched, and of having all your personal possessions taken from you. It spoke of the anxiety of entering the cell blocks for the first time and of the fear they all felt, even though some of them acknowledged they were seen as 'hard men' on the street.

Next was an exercise called 'desert islands' where the boys had to choose one item they could not do without. There were discussions about how they would keep the item if there were no rules, and how they would feel if that item was taken from them. They were asked how they would hold on to this item in prison. They were then asked to consider what a real victim of crime feels like when they have items taken from them, things that could be really special to them. Finally they were individually invited to the front for a resume of what they had done during the day, and were presented with a certificate by a prisoner.

On the bus on the way home some of the boys were questioned about the trip and also about the subject areas from the questionnaire. 'E' stated that he thought the day had been boring, and during the day he was the worst behaved of the young men, often messing about and laughing. He had also stated he was very disappointed that the visit did not actually go inside the prison to look at the cells, and that he didn't think they were real prisoners. Several others however reflected that they thought the day had been 'ok' as it made them think about the victims of their crimes. Some of them also stated that the prison did not seem a nice place and that they did not want to go back there. Obviously the conditions for this interview were not as they should be as described earlier to ensure the best results. However the location and setting for the interview was decided upon after speaking to the member of YOS staff. It was

felt that the interviews would not have worked in the conference room in the YOS upon return, as it was at the end of the long day, and the young people would be tired and unlikely to co-operate making it worthless. The other option considered was to invite the young people back on a separate day, however this was dismissed as due to their attendance being voluntary it was felt many would not turn up. The only way to avoid this would be to make attendance part of their hours of intervention with the YOS, but if they did not attend the only sanction would be to 'breach' them, which would adversely affect the young people. Ethically this did not seem appropriate.

The female visit started with a meet at the YOS at 8am where eventually three out of the six young women turned up. The YOS staff member was asked why so few were scheduled to go on the trip and she replied that the manager had concerns about pre-court and post court young people being mixed together. Two of the girls were black and one was white and they were aged thirteen and fourteen. Introductions were made and they were informed the author was a local Police Inspector, the rationale for the trip and that they were happy to answer questions. All three of them had been excluded from school in the past and one was currently attending the PRU. All of them had increased risk factors in their lives, but one girl in particular had multiple risk factors. Upon arrival all girls and staff members, including the author, were subject of a drugs search by use of a sniffer dog. This changed the mood of the girls considerably as the visit to the prison now appeared 'very real', and everyone became quiet. Sadly as the group had reduced numbers, the prison project decided to put on a reduced timetable. The five female prisoners introduced themselves to the girls. They did not use the ice breaking exercise 'sun shines on' but went straight to perceptions. Similar to the males they got the girls to try and guess who was who in terms of offenders and then said a little bit about their crimes. They used the 'music' game, and Police v Offender, where similar to the boys they agreed that they only had luck on their side which would eventually run out. The next exercise was 'responsibility line' where a prisoner told a story of drink and drugs and then a robbery and asked each girl where on the line they thought the offender should go. On the bus on the way home I questioned the girls about the visit and whether they thought it would affect their behaviour in the future. All said the visit had made up their minds that they were going to improve their behaviour as none of them wanted to go to prison, and again some of these reflections are recorded in the findings. The group discussion took place in the bus for the same reasons outlined for the boys visit.

FIP Family: The family was selected as they had caused many issues in the borough both in terms of issues connected to the family home, and the level of offending and anti-social behaviour of the two sons in the family. All of the ethical issues previously mentioned concerning interview ethics and conditions were applied in this case, including stressing the voluntary nature of their participation. To help put the family members at ease, the first interview took place with the mother of the family, in the presence of the two offending sons, both of whom were over eighteen years of age. There was an awareness of the risk of the behaviour of one of the group influencing another, but it was felt more important to put the interviewees at ease. To assist in relaxing the group the interview took place in their home. Also to assist with relaxation although the interview lasted several hours, the first part was taken up gaining their trust, largely by having a general discussion about policing. On a second and third occasion the mother was interviewed on her own, where again the author ran through the briefing details, although not in quite as much detail. However before a further interview was arranged with the young men, the decision was made to curtail this area of enquiry. Although only one family, the interviews provided valuable information and some of the comments from these interviews are reflected in the findings.

Knife Crime Prevention Programme (KCPP) Group: There was initially a hope to use YOS focus groups as one form of data collection but the author was aware there may be quite a bit of animosity from the YOS clients towards himself as he was a serving police officer, and so knew there was a need to reduce this negativity in order to avoid corrupting the information provided. There was a need to try and break down the possible barriers and so initially he volunteered to be part of two groups, where after several weeks there was a hope that barriers would be broken down. There was also a hope that through word of mouth between YOS clients, there would be acceptance of him as a researcher with genuine intentions rather than being seen as a police officer.

The groups commenced at the beginning of September 2010 and concentrated on delivery of the LEAP, confronting conflict programme and the Knife Crime Prevention Programme (KCPP), and both groups were supposed to contain twelve young men. Both groups had eight weeks of sessions starting at 1700hrs to 1830hrs. Due to the location of the groups moving from the YOS building to a youth club attendance at the first weeks of both groups was very

poor and both sessions were cancelled. In the first full session of both groups, the presence of the author was the main topic of conversation due to his role as a serving police officer. There was much mistrust from the young people and a large part of each first session was spent discussing how bad the police were and trying to get the author to justify certain police actions. However, from speaking to the YOS worker, who led the group, it was apparent that one of the young people had told his YOS panel later that night that the author had appeared to be a good person and not what he had expected a police officer to be like. It was therefore hoped that the tactic of completing the whole group with the young people rather than attending a single session to ask questions would be a much more productive way of working, in line with the recommendations of Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Erlandson et al (1993) regarding prolonged engagement between the investigator and the participants to help establish a relationship of trust between the parties.

However, despite several of the members of the groups stating that they didn't mind having a police officer in the group, and that the author seemed OK, they also stated they wouldn't talk openly or honestly whilst 'police' were there. This position was confirmed when the author had to miss a session from each group due to other work commitments, and the groups were much more open without him being present. This was confirmed with the young people upon his return, and again whilst they stated the author was 'alright', they confirmed they would never open up properly with a police officer present. In the interests of ensuring the intervention had the best chance of success for the young people involved, reluctantly the decision to withdraw from these groups was made and there was also now no opportunity to question any person individually from these two groups. It was hoped the YOS worker would be able to complete a focus group session to answer the research questions, but for various practical reasons this did not prove possible. Due to not wanting to disrupt other YOS sessions and the availability of other data sources, no further attempts were made to hold focus groups with a similar make-up.

Reparation Groups: Despite the problems with the clientele in the two groups above the author did initially continue to try to engage with young people not quite so far 'down the line' within the criminal justice system. The manager within the YOS who has responsibility for referral panels and the unpaid work, known as reparation, was spoken to, to see if she could organise a group. There was an acceptance that young people who had finished their

referral orders would be very unlikely to voluntarily attend the YOS to take part in any sort of session. It was therefore agreed with this manager that the group would be made up of existing YOS clients currently on referral orders and that taking part in the group would count towards their allotted hours. The YOS manager was content with this, as she hoped to gain an appreciation of what the young people thought of the reparation work, in order to improve the intervention.

Ten young people were informed to attend without knowledge of what they would be doing, but on the night at the beginning of February 2011, only three turned up. It was explained who the author was and what the project was all about, with one of the young people present being a young man who had been part of a previous LEAP group in which the author had participated. The author gave his now customary briefing and was especially keen to explain that taking part was voluntary and that their non-participation would not be considered a breach of their order, but all three stated they were happy to take part. Having spoken to the academic supervisor, had any further groups been spoken to a letter would have been sent home prior to the meeting, rather than sending a letter home after the conversation. However, on this occasion all three were fully briefed as to the author's job and were happy to co-operate in the research, and a letter was retrospectively given to them to take home to their parents, none of whom objected to their participation. This is another area for further research as again due to lack of time no further groups were held, but the comments of the young people are reflected in the findings, and were also acted upon by the manager of the YOS to slightly change the offer made to the young people.

Fit4life Group: Another group providing data was a group initially made up of thirty one young people selected either from the YOS, who were all young people on the YISP scheme, or from schools who felt the behaviour of the young person was an issue, although only twenty five made the final trip. For eight weeks the young people came together on a Monday afternoon and were taken by coach to Harlow activity centre. They completed a one hour session on various subjects such as knife crime, drugs, conflict and consequential thinking, were given lunch and then for the next hour they did an activity at the centre. An overnight session, at an Activity Centre called Herts Young Mariners, took place to risk assess the suitability of the young people to live and work together, as a week later they went to Scotland for a five day residential course, consisting of a mix of education, activities, and

general socialisation. Each night the young people were split into groups to take part in an educational activity and it was arranged for one of those groups to be group sessions for this research. The details of what the young people would be expected to do during the five days, including the research project, was included in a letter to their parents prior to attending, and no parent or carer objected to such participation. There was again an anticipation that being involved in a two month project with the young people would negate the effects of the social position of the author and assist in the building of trust, and this was largely the case. When the young people were spoken to the author briefed them all, including a very strong message that taking part in this element of the course was not compulsory. Although the young people answered the questions, a few of them were quite excitable and disruptive during the groups and so a couple of the sessions had to finish early. Despite this useful information was obtained and was analysed together with the other group information.

Groups of young people being mentored: A further group of young people spoken to were those being mentored. From his police and charity work, the author had developed the belief that mentoring was an effective intervention, but the initial literary review gave mixed opinions. From the questionnaires used with the year eight pupils, it was clear they regarded having a mentor as the most effective intervention, and although the figure for effectiveness fell in year nine, mentoring is still clearly regarded as an effective intervention. Forty pupils from the PRU have been spoken to, many of whom have been given a mentor as part of the schools attempts to control their behaviour. The manager of the mentoring scheme used by the Local Authority through the YOS and FIP scheme was spoken to, and she agreed to a review the impact of the LYRC mentor scheme. It was arranged that six young people and their mentors would be spoken to in a group, and also to review the offending rates of those previous mentees and those currently on the scheme. During the group interview of the six young people the first hour was spent in a general discussion gaining their trust. Again the rationale for the research, his role in the police, and that their participation was completely voluntary were all discussed. They all agreed to take part and seemed eager to talk in order to get their views across, during the next two hours. Those under eighteen years of age took a letter home regarding permission to take part, but no subsequent objections were received to using any information gained in research. To again ensure ethical rigour the mentors of the young people were present when the group took place, in the office of the LYRC mentoring scheme. There was a danger this may have restricted the young people's willingness to talk

about offending behaviour, but in fact they spoke of large amounts of offending behaviour that had mostly gone undetected by the police.

As previously mentioned the YEP is a charity that deals with better outcomes for young people in Fairfield. Part of their remit is to provide mentors to young people and they currently have approximately thirty five young people receiving a full mentor service. The YEP worker who manages this programme was interviewed to on her own, and the other trained mentors were spoken to as a group about the effectiveness of mentoring as a programme, and why they thought that it generally appeared to work. The ethical rigour that had been applied throughout the thesis was again applied to these two interviews as all were current employees or volunteers of the charity of which the author is the co-founder and current manager and so he was aware of the possible corrupting properties to the data of this relationship.

7.4 *The Research Analysis*

7.4.1 Quantitative analysis: Having collected information in the various ways listed above, the decision was then how to analyse the information in order to obtain the best results. The academic supervision of this thesis was not ideal in the initial stages, largely for reasons beyond anyone's control. The first intended academic supervisor had to take several months off work due to a hip replacement and his substitute had not previously supervised a doctoral thesis. The original supervisor did return, but after a year took the decision to leave the University, and a third supervisor was appointed. The result of this has been that although all have correctly been carried out, some supervision and procedures have happened several months after they should have occurred.

Although this has not had a significant negative impact, it has resulted in some procedural mistakes being made in the first eighteen months of the thesis. One of these was that the author gave insufficient time to thought process about how best to analyse the information he was collecting. As a result of this, the initial search for primary data and information was undoubtedly too wide and the significance of using a data analysis tool such as SPSS to ensure achieving best results was not appreciated. One consequence of this was that year seven information collected from the pupils was analysed by hand using a '5 bar gate'

system. This enabled good basic numerical single variable analysis but did not allow more detailed cross tabulation analysis and subsequent comparison with other years.

Having realised the error an additional academic supervisor was obtained in order to give specific advice concerning data analysis and specifically the use of SPSS. Several meetings with this supervisor were held and instruction given to enable the author to use SPSS. Subsequently the information from the three schools still remaining in the project in years eight and nine was coded and entered onto an SPSS format. The author had instruction from a friend's daughter who was familiar with SPSS concerning the inputting of data into the SPSS system, and how best to code the information, including how to deal with blank answers. He then spent many many hours inputting the data, which included regular checks for accuracy as described in the previous chapter. This proved a useful safeguard as on one occasion he made a slight inputting error which cost him an evening's work but if not discovered would have cost him a month's work.

Once inputted the data had to be analysed and the author was aware of the power of SPSS to analyse the data, but having completed several hours of analysis, he was also aware of his own limitations when using this tool, especially if he wanted to use cross tabulation. He discussed the matter with his academic tutor dealing with statistics, and considered various options such as sending the information off to a company. These were dismissed due to ethical issues but also the inability of such companies to discuss the data in person to ensure a thorough understanding of the findings. Through his partnership work the author knew an analyst from the Local Authority Community Safety unit (CSU) and believed him to have a good knowledge of SPSS. It subsequently transpired the analyst had a degree in Astrophysics during which he had used SPSS extensively and so indeed had a good knowledge of how to use the system. He came to the author's home on several occasions and assisted the author to complete the analysis when required. On a couple of occasions when the author had difficulties completing the bivariate tabulation the analyst actually completed the work, but all of the coding and inputting together with the vast majority of the analysis was completed by the author. The extra element that this person brought to the project was that his job within the CSU meant he also had a really good understanding about the data set, which ensured the correct questions were asked of the data. Discussions with this analyst were crucial to assist in the understanding of the data and the subsequent findings and conclusions.

7.4.2 Qualitative analysis: Qualitative data are words rather than numbers, which help describe and explain. But words can also be ambiguous and difficult to compare objectively. It is never clear how much of a verbal description of one instance carries over to other instances. One observer's description, however precise, may not concur with another's.

'It is easy for a qualitative researcher to jump to hasty, partial, unfounded conclusions'
(Miles and Huberman 1984, p21).

In order to ensure this was avoided a system had to be decided upon to obtain the best results. Although not traditionally done, it is now quite common to use a computer assisted qualitative data software package. However this option was rejected on the grounds of practicality. The author again had no previous knowledge of such packages, and at this stage it is unclear if such a package will be required to be used in the future. After advice from supervisors it was concluded that a more traditional approach would therefore be a more constructive use of time. The work was naturally coded, as the questions in the interviews followed closely those of the questionnaire used in the schools. The danger with such a structured format is that it could be accused of being merely an extension of the quantitative work, but care was taken to ensure this did not happen. All the interview records were examined for appropriate information and quotes to be used.

7.4.3 Dissemination of findings to others: To be effective it is important to ensure the findings of any research are disseminated as widely as possible. As the author wished his research to assist in a change policy in certain areas of behaviour control he did consider a dissemination plan at start of the process, and reviewed this throughout the period of the research. Things that were considered were the dissemination goals, the target audience, key messages and how this would be achieved.

The dissemination goals were to ensure as many of those with the ability and power to change policies in Fairfield were made aware of the findings, and if possible to reach a wider audience to affect a London or UK wide audience to change national policies, and this clearly also defines the target audience. The key messages were not initially clear at the start of the research but they are now contained in the findings and conclusions chapter. As for how best

to achieve the required dissemination the author decided not to pursue the traditional route of having articles published or presenting at conference due to a lack of available time through work commitments. It can often take many months to get articles published in journals and he made the decision to concentrate on the primary research and his job of running the youth charity as that was actually making a difference to lives of young people.

However he still wanted to try and disseminate any findings obtained, and through the author's work as the manager of a youth charity, Chair of the Board of Governors of a large Secondary School and member of the Local Leader of Governance for the schools team in Fairfield, opportunities have arisen to disseminate findings to others. It is important that the findings reach a wider audience than those in academia, and considerable interest has already been shown by those taking part in the research and other professionals within Fairfield. All the schools assisting with the thesis will receive the full findings with an executive summary specifically highlighting the findings for their schools. The person responsible for parenting within the Local Authority in Fairfield will receive a similar report to assist in the training of parents. The Director for Education and also the head of Behaviour Support in Fairfield have asked for a copy of the thesis and this will be supplied. Finally the manager of the YOS has asked for and will receive the findings, with an executive summary highlighting the interventions involving YOS clients. Through this dissemination it is hoped that there will be some practical improvements in the services and interventions provided to young people in Fairfield. Partly due to the dissemination of the results as the research has progressed, policies concerning school behaviour have already changed in school 1. To increase dissemination once the thesis is complete the author intends to write and try and publish several articles in journals and other academic outlets.

7.4.4 Reflections of the fieldwork: Although the majority of decisions made during this process appear to have been correct there has been learning for the author, some of which is mentioned above and some of which may also be applicable for others wishing to complete similar research. One example would be that a couple of the interventions used, such as hitting the young person, showed a statistical link to poor behaviour. However, this cannot be advanced strongly as an argument as the question was not time specific and so it is not clear if the intervention by the parent was used as a response to the behaviour or was a possible contributory factor towards it occurring. Another question the author now wishes he had

asked would be if the young person had been the victim of crime if the last year as other studies have shown this is statistically linked to both some types of offending and weapon on knife carrying. This supports the authors' view that the most important reflective point would be planning. An ability to run quickly is little use if running in the wrong direction.

Due to the author's immediate access to young people and his enthusiasm to get started he completed many hours of work that has not played a significant part in the findings of this particular piece of work. This was caused by not being clear about what the research was trying to achieve. Although it is not uncommon for a PhD thesis to develop over time, a slower more considered start would have allowed greater reading a round methodology in the initial few months which would have prevented mistakes down the line, including fairly substantial changes as a result of the VIVA.

An awareness of one's strengths and weakness is also important when deciding what type of research to complete and the method to achieve this. The author is aware he is very good at building relationships and speaking to people from all sections of society, which means he is good at gaining access to populations and samples from which to study. These communication skills also lend themselves towards qualitative work and getting the best out of people in one to one interviews. Although competent with figures it is not his natural forte and using SPSS was hard work. Upon reflection however the author believes the mixed method approach used during this thesis was the correct method to obtain the best information. However moving forward if the author was considering an area that needed quantitative as well as qualitative work he would consider a collaboration with a colleague more expert in the use of SPSS or similar tools in order to get the best combined results.

The final reflection would be that one of the author's initial beliefs at the start of the research, that there was insufficient knowledge about what actually works as an intervention to improve behaviour, is correct. There is much work and research to be done concerning the criminal justice system and school discipline system and the author intends to pursue research in these areas post this thesis. However that work is in the future and the following chapter will describe the findings and conclusions to be drawn from the analysis from this piece of work.

Chapter 8 - Findings

8.1 *Introduction*

Although there were a few changes to the questionnaire, compared to the test questionnaire, it remained largely the same. For year seven the percentage figures used in the tables below may occasionally not add up to one hundred percent due to the raw figures being rounded up or down on a few occasions. As was already explained the data from year seven was not entered onto SPSS and was therefore only subject to basic numeric analysis rather than any form of cross tabulation. The data from years eight and nine as explained was entered on to SPSS and was therefore subjected to a more detailed analysis. As well as basic numeric analysis, this analysis involved cross tabulation and comparing various factors in years nine and eight for a correlation with committing crime and ASB, being in trouble at school, taking drugs, carrying a weapon, carrying a knife, drinking and being drunk, and identifying as a gang member.

The majority of the questions to the young people concentrated on their behaviour and what works to control that behaviour in the home, in school, and in society in general. This is because these are areas where change could be effected quickly to make a positive difference if local politicians, statutory bodies, schools and parents were minded to do so. The findings will examine the extent of criminal and poor behaviour according to young people. It will look at the amount of young people involved in risky behaviours and the consequences of those behaviours. It will look at statistically relevant factors such as parental and sibling imprisonment. It will examine how effective various parental and school disciplinary interventions are, and how much young people are influenced by these factors and their friends. Finally it will look at what young people think about some current interventions, and why young people said they stopped offending. As previously stated the perception of young people's offending appears too high but actual level of offending admitted to by the young people of Fairfield will be examined in the section below.

8.2 *Extent of Involvement in poor and risky behaviour*

The majority of young people questioned admitted to being in trouble at home at some point, but tables three and four below will look at if they have been involved in criminal or anti-social behaviour in the last year, and are still offending. Although there is an acknowledgement that young people may not tell truth about their behaviour, for various

reasons described in the methodology chapter, the author has confidence in the truthfulness of the answers given. He discussed this with the PRU pupils who were interviewed and despite being clearly identified, they stated they were happy to tell the truth as most appeared aware there was insufficient evidence on which to prosecute them even if the author spoke to or acted as a police officer. They were asked about exaggeration and were dismissive of anyone who would do this to boost their reputation. This gives the author confidence those answering the questionnaire have also been truthful as it was an anonymous survey and so they would not be incriminating themselves or boosting their reputation. Finally as was described in the methodology one way to ensure 'buy in' from the sample population is to ensure they understand why they are answering the questions. This was achieved by briefing the young people in person and an indication that they appreciated the importance of the survey was the small number of spoilt questionnaires, which the author would argue also gives an indication that they would have answered the questions truthfully.

8.2.1 Criminal Behaviour: In year nine twenty two percent admitted to performing an act they regarded as criminal, which rose from twenty percent in those who admitted performing a criminal act in year eight and from fourteen percent in year seven. They were briefed that a criminal act was one that broke the law in England such as burglary, shoplifting, or fighting and were given the opportunity to ask a question if they were not sure about if something they had done was a criminal act. In actual numbers of young people who admitted an offence the figure rose from year eight to nine from ninety three to one hundred and seven, with only a rise of three people completing the questionnaire. Of the young people who admitted committing an offence in the last year thirty one percent stated they were still offending as seen in table 4 below. The percentage of young people admitting committing a criminal offence in the last year is slightly below previous studies such as the MORI survey which found it to be twenty five percent in 2001 and twenty seven percent in 2005, and the OCJS survey which found it to be twenty five percent. The number of young people questioned at the PRU who said they had committed a crime was considerable, well above the survey figures, with eighty percent saying they had committed an offence that year. However previous self-report surveys involving PRU pupils in 2005 (Phillips et.al. 2005, p3) and 2008 (Phillips et.al. 2008, p4) have also found much higher levels of offending at sixty seven and sixty four percent respectively. However these surveys involved PRU pupils aged eleven to sixteen unlike the PRU pupils used in the thesis who were older generally aged

fifteen which may explain this variation. This would be consistent with the latest official crime figures which had year eight and nine aged children committing eighteen percent of the offences in 2013/14 but year ten and eleven aged young people, like those questioned in the PRU, committing thirty one percent of the offences (MoJ 2015, p29).

Table 3: Have you ever done anything criminal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	107	20.5	22.3	22.3
	No	373	71.5	77.7	100.0
	Total	480	92.0	100.0	
Missing	Missing	42	8.0		
Total		522	100.0		

Table 4: Are you still doing stuff that is criminal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	33	6.3	30.8	30.8
	No	74	14.2	69.2	100.0
	Total	107	20.5	100.0	
Missing	N/A	370	70.9		
	Missing	45	8.6		
	Total	415	79.5		
Total		522	100.0		

8.2.2 Anti-Social behaviour: What behaviour constituted anti-social was explained during the briefing to the young people and was described as behaviour they knew or suspected would be unacceptable to adults who saw or heard it. Examples were given such as being in a group on the street playing music, drinking or making a lot of noise, rushing in a group to get on a bus and pushing others out of the way, or letting off fireworks or other noisy activities. Like crime they were given the opportunity to ask about any activity they felt might qualify as ASB. In terms of poor behaviour that manifests itself as anti-social behaviour, the figures in year nine were similar to the previous years, and show a slight increase on criminal

behaviour. However a much larger number admitted continuing to behave in such a way, with table 6 showing half of the young people still committing such behaviour.

Table 5: Have you ever done anything anti-social

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	123	23.6	26.0	26.0
	No	350	67.0	74.0	100.0
	Total	473	90.6	100.0	
Missing	Missing	49	9.4		
Total		522	100.0		

Table 6: Do you still do anti-social stuff

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	60	11.5	50.4	50.4
	No	59	11.3	49.6	100.0
	Total	119	22.8	100.0	
Missing	N/A	350	67.0		
	Missing	53	10.2		
	Total	403	77.2		
Total		522	100.0		

So it can be seen from the above tables that the majority of young people are not involved in either criminal or anti-social behaviour, although a reasonable percentage of those who have been involved in such behaviour in the last year continue to behave in such a way.

From the literature review it was noted that the more risk factors or risky behaviours in a young person's life the higher the possibility they would be involved in poor or criminal behaviour, and this next section will look at that involvement.

8.2.3 Risky Behaviour Introduction: In terms of young people's knowledge and use of perceived risky behaviours, to ensure consistency all were briefed that the term 'risky behaviour' meant those that potentially expose young people to harm, or significant risk of harm which could prevent them reaching their potential. The table below shows the headline figures for year nine students, and the figures for knowledge of these subjects has remained

fairly constant over the three year period of this study, indicating that a quarter of the young people did not feel they knew enough about these areas in order to make the right decision. Although the figures for the number of young people taking part in the risky behaviours had risen considerably from year eight to year nine the actual frequency of use remained low with the majority of people stating they had either used drugs or carried a knife or weapon on only one or two occasions in the last year.

Table 7: Knowledge and use of risky behaviours in Year 9

	DRUGS	GUNS	KNIVES	ALCOH'L	GANGS
Knowledge	65%	66%	71%	67%	68%
Use	13%	12%	13%	38%	9%

8.2.4

Table 8: Have you ever taken illegal drugs

Dru			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The figur es for the perc enta	Valid	Yes	62	11.9	12.8	12.8
		No	422	80.8	87.2	100.0
		Total	484	92.7	100.0	
	Missing	N/A	2	.4		

ge of young people taking drugs in the last year are shown in the table below.

Missing	36	6.9		
Total	38	7.3		
Total	522	100.0		

The young people in the PRU had a much better knowledge of drugs than those in year nine with many more of them admitting to having taken drugs in the last year, but as they were in years ten and eleven and usage appears to increase with age this was not surprising.

In the schools, and the PRU generally it was cannabis that was the drug used, with only a few admitting to using cocaine or other class 'A' drugs. The author had delivered a drugs lesson to year nine students with behavioural issues in school one and found that their knowledge of drugs other than cannabis was very low. They did not know the street names of several drugs, especially category 'A' drugs, and use was restricted to cannabis and alcohol.

This had changed for the older students in the PRU and one universal point for all the students was that they all said they knew where to get drugs if they felt the need to use drugs and that availability was not an issue, as noted by Subject 30 who said that:

"I've smoked load of weed which makes me feel relaxed. It's easy to buy, you can get it in loads of places".

When questioned further, she said that all her friends knew how to get drugs, in fact she thought everyone did. This female subject was already known to Compass who help young people deal with addiction. However young people did not feel that drugs were linked to their poor behaviour, and in terms of cannabis some suggested that it might help them not become involved in violence and crime. Subject 20 stated that:

"cannabis heightens my emotions, but mostly it just makes me want to go to sleep and helps me relax".

The next area of risky behaviour looked at is possession of guns or other weapons other than knives on the street, as knives are dealt with as a separate category.

8.2.5 Guns and Weapons: The number of people admitting carrying a weapon in the last year can be seen in table nine on the page below. The figure fell by one percent to twelve percent in year nine compared to year eight although the frequency of actually carrying the weapon rose significantly with the figure of those who had only carried it once or twice dropping from seventy four to forty four percent, although it was generally still only on three or four occasions. This is a reduction on previous figures in a study conducted by MORI for carrying a gun in 2008 and 2009 which stated that twenty one percent of young people in mainstream education in both these years had carried a gun (Anderson et al 2009, p126).

Table 9: Have you carried a weapon on the street in the last year

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	58	11.1	12.3	12.3
	No	413	79.1	87.7	100.0
	Total	471	90.2	100.0	
Missing	N/A	3	.6		
	Missing	48	9.2		
	Total	51	9.8		
Total		522	100.0		

When asked what type of weapon they have carried as can be seen from the table below BB gun was the most used at nineteen percent but this had fallen from twenty seven percent the previous year. The author is aware from speaking to young people of the difficulty obtaining real firearms and it is therefore possible that some of those saying they have carried a gun actually carried a BB gun. This is impossible to verify and an argument against this would be some of the comments of the young people in the PRU who made similar comments to Subject 31 who stated

“I had a gun once that a friend showed me. I thought it was a BB gun at first but then I took the clip out and saw the bullets and thought whoa”

Table 10: What type of weapon have you carried.

	What type of weapon have you carried - Gun	What type of weapon have you carried - BB gun	What type of weapon have you carried - Baseball bat	What type of weapon have you carried - Cosh	What type of weapon have you carried - Bottle	What type of weapon have you carried - Other weapon
Frequency	19	25	25	10	23	29
Percentage	15%	19%	19%	8%	18%	21%

Again knowledge about this risk factor was higher for the pupils in the PRU, when compared to those in the schools. However like the use of drugs, the explanation for this may be due to the increased age of those questioned in the PRU, but it is also consistent with previous MORI surveys which had thirty four percent of PRU pupils carrying a BB gun (Anderson et al 2009, p126)

Although the number who had carried a weapon was considerably greater, the number of times they had carried a weapon was at a similar level, which was less than four times in a year. Nearly every person stated they had carried a weapon for protection due to a general feeling the ‘streets’ were dangerous, or as a result of being involved in a fight or dispute and fearing repercussions.

A more worrying reason given for carrying a weapon was that they thought it was cool, such as Subject 1. The subject stated he had found a BB gun in the street and taken it to school to show off, and it had been discovered in a routine search. This subject obtained good grades at GCSE at the PRU and was currently studying for his ‘A’ levels, so the issue for why he carried a weapon did not appear to be one of a lack of academic ability.

Another reason for carrying or being in possession of a weapon appears to be to help a family member or boyfriend. Subject 14 said

“My family are involved in crime, especially my brothers.....one asked me to hide his gun under my bed”

There appears to be an issue of young women carrying weapons for their boyfriends, who are often gang members, as Subjects 17 and 32 said:

“My boyfriend is a (named gang) member so I’m with them all the time....I’ve seen a real gun and many gang members carry weapons” and “I have been the girlfriend of a gang member and during that time had held a gun”

Peer pressure was mentioned by a few young people, as well as simply friends being in possession of weapons. Subject 19 stated:

“I’ve seen my mates brothers BB gun and a real gun”

When questioned he was aware of the difference between the two. One difference between the attitudes of some of the young men seemed to be due to different cultural associations with firearms and a different attitude towards the law and the police, where the use of guns might be more widespread and the law not as well enforced as suggested by Subject 3 who said:

“I have carried guns a lot in Turkey including an AK47, but not over here. I don’t think it’s such a big deal” and “In Turkey my uncle just puts money in his license and when the police stop him they just say ‘on your way’...I was driving my uncles car and there was a firearm in the car but I had money in my ID and they took it and just said that to me as well”

8.2.6 Knives: Due to the amount of publicity concerning young people carrying knives this was dealt with as a separate weapon and is discussed below. At thirteen percent the percentage of young people carrying a knife in the last year had risen from the previous year but number of times the knife had been carried in the year remained low with the majority carrying it on only one or two occasions. This compares to 2008 and 2009 in the previously mentioned MORI poll where the figures were twenty four and twenty three percent. However when legitimate reasons for carrying a knife such as hobbies and sports was removed the figure for 2009 dropped to sixteen percent. It is important to note the young people in the Fairfield study were briefed that the possession of a knife was for an illegal purpose and so the drop of three percent for the survey taken in 2012 from the year nine students is a comparable figure.

Table 11: Have you carried a knife on the street

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	60	11.5	13.2	13.2
	No	395	75.7	86.8	100.0
	Total	455	87.2	100.0	

Missing	N/A	7	1.3		
	Missing	60	11.5		
	Total	67	12.8		
Total		522	100.0		

Of those questioned, the number of pupils at the PRU who had carried a knife was greatly in excess of the population of the three schools, sixty two percent admitting carrying a knife compared to thirteen percent, but again this was consistent with previous figures when in 2008 sixty one percent of those in a PRU said they had carried a knife in the last year (Anderson et al 2009, p126)

However the number of times they had carried it in the last year was still low, with two thirds carrying a knife in the last year less than four times. The pupils at the PRU were also twice as likely to see someone else with a knife, although this might be explained by the higher numbers in the PRU carrying a knife, as who else they had seen was not clarified but could have been their friends and associates from the PRU. The reason for carrying a knife was very similar to other weapons in that the vast majority of young people in both the quantitative and qualitative studies carried a knife for protection. The significance of young people fearing each other is highlighted by the comments of Subjects 11, 22 and 31 when asked why they carried a knife stated:

“I carried it for protection from others with knives, everyone has got one” and “I had a knife as I won a fight and was scared his brother was going to get me” and “I’ve had a flick knife twice which I carried for protection because someone was after me”

The level of fear and some might argue paranoia some young people live with is illustrated by the comments of Subject 4 who when asked why he had carried a knife replied:

“I never intended to use it or anything, I just had it with me to protect my girl when we went to the cinema (in Fairfield)”

When questioned further about this he stated there was no specific threat to him or his girlfriend at that time but he knew others carried weapons and he wanted to be able to look after her because that's what men should be able to do.

The young people interviewed in the PRU did display gender variation on why they carried a knife with only two females admitting they carried a knife for themselves, and the majority stating they carried it for their boyfriend who was often a gang member. This was illustrated by the comments of Subjects 5 and 14 who stated:

"I carried knives for (named gang)", one of the two main gangs in the borough, and "I've carried knives for (named gang) when they were going to fights".

However, although the majority carried a knife for themselves some males also held a weapon or knife for someone else as indicated by Subjects 38 and 37 who said:

"A couple of times I have had possession of a knife, but I was holding it for someone else" and "I carried a knife for a friend one time and the other time was to do a robbery"

Just like guns, there were a few of the young people who found knives and their possession to be status enhancing or as they described it 'cool'. This supports the work of Dr Harding and his description of 'street capital'. Subject 40 said:

"I have carried a knife, mainly for protection, but also because it's cool"

We had a further discussion on his belief it was 'cool' to carry a knife, which revealed he believed the media, film and computer games gave the impression weapons and violence enhanced status and were cool.

The vast majority of young people said they carried a knife for their own protection. They had often been involved in some previous form of conflict and feared reprisals from the victim and friends or sometimes they were worried a relative of the victim would seek retribution. The immediate fear certainly outweighed the fear of any possible sanction in the

future and so increased maximum sentences are not effective, in fact they are irrelevant according to the young people, as a deterrent with the majority of young people who carry knives.

8.2.7 Alcohol: As can be seen from the table below thirty eight percent had tried alcohol in the last year but this was a five percent drop on the previous year, but the majority had only done so on a limited number of occasions, and in nearly half these occasions it was only with their family. Of those who admitted having a drink, forty four percent also admitted to having been drunk in the last year, which is only a one percent rise on the previous year. The most consumed drink was wine, which may reflect the fact that young people of this age drink mostly with their families.

Table 12: Have you had a drink in the last year

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	175	33.5	38.4	38.4
	No	281	53.8	61.6	100.0
	Total	456	87.4	100.0	
Missing	Missing	66	12.6		
Total		522	100.0		

Although the percentage of young people in the PRU having drunk alcohol in the last year was slightly greater, this was perhaps to be expected as the age group was higher. The young people did not feel that drinking had any link to their poor behaviour, although twice as many in the PRU as opposed to the schools had been drunk, but this could be due to the age differential. Most said they had not been drunk very often, although a few said they did go out with the intention to get drunk. They were asked if they drank merely to get drunk or actually liked the taste of the drinks. As can be seen from the two comments of Subjects 21 and 32 below opinions varied:

“I like the taste and the effect of alcohol” and “I like the effects of alcohol, but I think it tastes like shit”

The media perception is often of drunken teenagers in the UK, which was supported by the OECD which claimed British teenagers were the most drunken of all the industrialised nations in a study in 2009. They stated that young people aged between thirteen to fifteen had been drunk at least twice (OECD 2009). But the thirteen and fourteen year olds in this study appeared to drink much less than this. Only just over a third had had a drink, of those more than half had only had alcohol on one or two occasions, and less than half who had consumed alcohol had been drunk. They also stated they drank with family far more than they drank with friends.

8.2.8 Gangs: The final risky behaviour is being a member of a gang and in year nine, nine percent of young people admitted to being in a gang or forty individuals, which is a rise of eighteen individuals from year eight. The most popular reason given for joining a gang was ‘because it’s fun’ which is a change from year eight, where it was ‘for protection’. However the percentage for ‘it’s fun’ was very similar and it was a seven percent drop in ‘for protection’ that made the difference.

Table 13: Do you self-identify as a gang member

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	40	7.7	9.0	9.0
	No	402	77.0	91.0	100.0
	Total	442	84.7	100.0	
Missing	Missing	80	15.3		
Total		522	100.0		

The number of young people self-identifying as gang members in the PRU, was higher than for the general population questioned. Several young people in the PRU who said they were not in a gang, also acknowledged that they either had friends or knew people who were in a gang. Subject 34 said

“I’m not in a gang but have loads of mates who are, mostly for protection, but some because it’s cool”

They generally acknowledged that having friends who were gang members made them both vulnerable to being mistakenly identified as a gang member by a rival gang or the Police. They accepted this risk and said just because their friends were in a gang and committing offences did not mean they were also going to commit offences, as stated by Subject 35 who said

“two of my mates are in a gang but they are really dumb man, just fighting over numbers, just postcodes”

This theme of thinking joining a gang ‘was stupid’ was common with quite a lot of them criticising those who did join gangs, such as Subject 31 and Subject 9 who stated:

“I think people in gangs are stupid as it puts them in danger” and “I used to be in a gang but stopped seeing those people, as it was foolish”

Several made the point though that just because they knew people who were in a gang, or came from a certain area did not mean they were in a gang, and that it was not just the police who made this mistaken assumption but also other young people from the estate, the ‘elders’ of the gang as described by Subject 37 and Subject 36 who said:

“me and my mates were not in a gang, we were just friends who hung out with each other” and “The ‘elders’ of (named gang) said me and my mates we were the ‘youngers’ and they were the ‘elders’, but we just thought, ‘whatever’, we were just a group of mates who hung together, we didn’t think we were in a gang”

When asked why they thought people joined gangs, some agreed with Subject 34 that it was cool, but most agreed that the majority joined a gang for protection. Subject 41 who had been in a gang for several years gave a detailed account of how he became a gang member and his gang life. He said that he had come to this country from the Congo and had entered school at year seven speaking almost no English. On his first day at school two year eleven boys had tried to bully him and he had been victorious in a fight despite being much smaller. As a result of this he was befriended by some boys who gave him stuff if he did things they asked, which was generally to fight someone. He said that he didn’t realise he was in a gang for two

years, as he just thought these boys were his friends. They then started to give him new trainers and other property to sell drugs. I asked him had he behaved badly before he came to the UK and he said no as in his village he went to school and came back to the village. In the UK it all seemed to be about how to get girls and money and he just wanted to fit in, so he did what all his 'friends' did, until he realised it was wrong. He stressed his main motivation to join the group which he later realised was a gang was the desire to 'fit in'.

The above sections have looked at how many young people are involved in risky behaviours and some of the reasons young people say this happens. The next section will look at some of the possible implications for those involved in these risky behaviours and if the taking part in such behaviours makes it more statistically likely they will be involved in criminal or anti-social behaviour.

8.3 Possible effects of Risky behaviours

8.3.1 Introduction: Clearly some of the risky behaviours would be deemed as being criminal in themselves, such as drug taking or weapon and knife possession on the street. In terms of correlation, it is looking for correlation with other criminal and anti-social behaviour in addition to the behaviour being analysed, and this was explained in the briefing given to the students before they completed the questionnaire. Although there are some fairly strong statistical links with some risk factors and crime, a note of caution would be that the 'n' figure for those involved in that behaviour is often quite low.

8.3.2 Drugs: Drug use and criminality show a very strong inter-link. In year eight, drug use was fairly small with four percent stating they had used drugs, but this figure rose to sixteen percent for those who had committed crime. In year nine, general drug use rose to thirteen percent of pupils having taken illegal drugs in the last year, with the figure rising to forty three percent for those who have committed crime. Additionally, females, appear to be much more likely to have done something criminal if they have also taken drugs, when compared to males. Those who admitted taking drugs generally said they had only tried them a few times with approximately sixty percent of both year eight and nine pupils trying drugs once or twice, although in year nine thirty three percent did state they had consumed drugs more than four times in the last year. The results and Chi test can be seen in tables 14 and 15 below. For this test and the other Chi-Square tests below we are testing the null hypothesis (H_0) that

there is no association between the two variables, versus the alternative (H_1) that there is an association. All tests were done at the 1% level of significance. Since Chi-Square = 100.63 with p-value almost zero we reject H_0 in favour of H_1 so we have an association between criminal behaviour and drug use.

Table 14: Have you ever done anything criminal * Have you ever taken illegal drugs Crosstabulation (n=458, n*=64)

			Have you ever taken illegal drugs		Total
			Yes	No	
Have you ever done anything criminal	Yes	Count	44	58	102
		% within Have you ever taken illegal drugs	73.3%	14.6%	22.3%
	No	Count	16	340	356
		% within Have you ever taken illegal drugs	26.7%	85.4%	77.7%
Total	Count		60	398	458
	% within Have you ever taken illegal drugs		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 15: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	103.997 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	100.630	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	85.656	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000

Linear-by-Linear Association	103.770	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	458				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.36.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

g use shows a clear correlation with involvement in ASB. In year eight, those who had taken drugs were six times more likely to also have been involved in ASB. The figures reduce in year nine but those taking drugs were still three times more likely to have been involved in ASB. As with crime, both genders display a link between ASB and drug use, but this is stronger for females than males.

8.3.3 Guns and Weapons: In terms of correlation, those who have carried a weapon are much more likely to have done something criminal, than those who have not carried a weapon. In School 1 in year nine whilst only five percent of those who have not done anything criminal have carried a weapon, this rises to forty six percent for those involved in crime, and for year eight it was a bigger gap with this figure being sixty three percent.

Females appear to be slightly more influenced by weapons in terms of if they have also been involved in crime than males, as in year nine only ten percent of females have carried a weapon, but this rises to forty percent if they have done something criminal, and this was also true in year eight.

As with crime, weapon carrying increases in cohorts who have also done something anti-social. In year nine thirteen percent of all youths have carried a weapon, but this rises to thirty percent for those involved in ASB. This inter-link was even stronger in year eight where those who have carried a weapon were four times more likely to be involved in ASB. Males are more likely to be involved in ASB and weapon carrying than females, though both genders show a strong correlation between these two variables.

8.3.4 Knives: Individuals who have done something criminal are more likely to have carried a knife. In year eight, seven percent admitted to carrying a knife, but this figure rose to twenty eight percent if they had committed a crime. In year nine this rose to be thirteen

percent carrying a knife with those who had done something criminal being approximately six times more likely to have carried a knife than those who have not done anything else criminal. In year eight, one school displayed this very strongly with only four percent of those not having committed a crime having carried a knife, but this figure rising to sixty nine percent for those who had committed a crime of another type. Interestingly in year nine, School 2 displayed this relationship very strongly with twenty two percent of individuals in the school carrying a knife rising to seventy seven percent for those who have committed crime. This strong correlation was with School 1 in year eight, but not in School 3. The rationale given by the young people for carrying a knife was similar to that of a weapon with just under two thirds stating for protection, or to go to a fight, and in year nine just over two thirds giving these two reasons. However, the percentage who said ‘for protection’ was much greater than for a weapon at over fifty percent in both year groups. Males show a stronger link between knife carrying and crime than females, although both genders show a clear link between the two variables and the figures can be seen in the tables 16 and 17 below.

Table 16: Have you ever done anything criminal * Have you carried a knife on the street Crosstabulation
(n=432, n*=90)

			Have you carried a knife on the street		Total
			Yes	No	
Have you ever done anything criminal	Yes	Count	38	61	99
		% within Have you carried a knife on the street	65.5%	16.3%	22.9%
	No	Count	20	313	333
		% within Have you carried a knife on the street	34.5%	83.7%	77.1%
Total	Count		58	374	432
	% within Have you carried a knife on the street		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 17: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	68.827 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	66.070	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	57.644	1	.000		

Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	68.668	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	432				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.29.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

ce Chi-Square = 66.07 with p-value almost zero we have evidence that there is an association between criminal behaviour and carrying a knife.

Those young people who have carried a knife are more likely to engage in ASB, than those who have not carried a knife. In year eight this is twice as likely and in year nine thirteen percent of all youths had carried a knife, but this rises to thirty one percent for those who have engaged in ASB.

8.3.5 Alcohol: Drinking alcohol does show a correlation with involvement in crime. In year eight, thirty two percent of pupils had drunk alcohol, and this rose to sixty nine percent if they had committed a crime. In year nine, forty percent of all youths said they had drunk alcohol, which rose to a similar figure of sixty nine percent for those who have committed crime. Whilst females appear to be more influenced by alcohol in terms of involvement in crime, males also display a strong inter-link between the variables.

Anti-social behaviour also shows a close link to alcohol. In year nine those who have drunk alcohol in the last year are over twice as likely to have engaged in ASB, when compared to those who have not had a drink, which was slightly higher than the year before. Females who have had a drink in the last year show a much larger increase in the likelihood that they are involved in ASB, as compared to males. Whilst only forty five percent of all females had a drink, this almost doubles for those who admit to ASB, and this is true of both year groups.

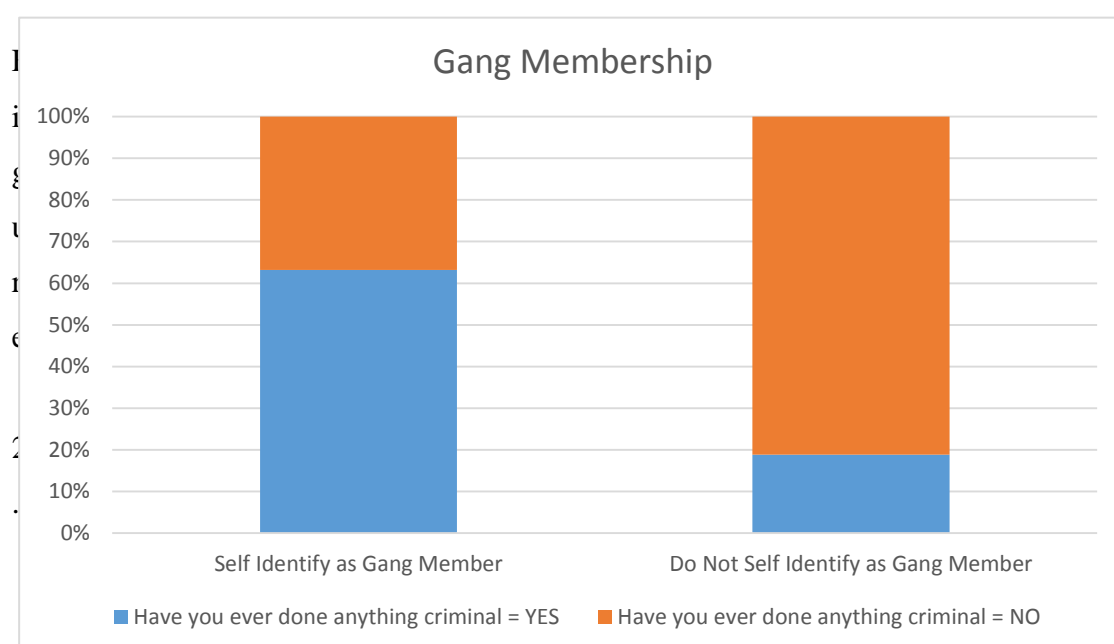
In year eight there was no correlation with being drunk and committing crime and overall in year nine being drunk shows only a minor correlation with an increased likelihood to be involved in crime. One school in isolation in year nine however, does demonstrate this relationship quite strongly with forty five percent of pupils who had consumed alcohol admitting to having been drunk, which rises to seventy percent for those involved in criminality. In year nine males demonstrate a stronger inter-dependency between these two

variables than females. Forty four percent of males had been drunk, which rises to sixty seven percent if they had committed crime.

There was no correlation in year eight, but having been drunk is correlated with a slightly increased likelihood in committing anti-social behaviour in year nine. In particular, this relationship is seen most strongly within the same school as above with those who have done something anti-social being four times more likely to have been drunk than those not involved in ASB. Males display a stronger link between these variables than females. For all males, forty four percent who have consumed alcohol have been drunk, which rises to sixty seven percent for those who have done something anti-social.

8.3.6 Gang membership: Identifying as a gang member increases the likelihood of being involved in crime significantly. In year eight only five percent admitted gang membership but this rose to eighteen percent for those who had committed crime. In year nine, nine percent of pupils identify themselves as gang members, but this rose to twenty five percent for those who have committed crime. This relationship which is observed across all of the schools can be seen in the chart below, but females do not show a correlation between the above variables.

A higher percentage of those identifying as a gang member have been involved in crime compared with those not identifying themselves as gang members.



Gang membership and crime.

Individuals identifying as gang members do demonstrate an increase in likelihood to be involved in anti-social behaviour, though this correlation is not as strong as with crime. Nine percent of individuals identify as gang members in year nine, but this rises to twenty two percent for those involved in ASB, and it is a similar percentage rise in year eight. As with crime, males identifying as gang members show a much larger increase in the probability of

Table 18: What is the self-defined ethnicity of the young person in year 7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	White British	121	23.2	23.5	23.5

d in ASB, as compared to females. In year nine, the risk of females committing ASB increases three fold if they identify as a gang member. For males this risk factor increases seven fold, which is an increase from four fold in year eight.

8.4 Generic factors that might be statistically relevant

8 . 4 . 1 E t h n	Black British	34	6.5	6.6	30.2
	Black Afro-Caribbean	37	7.1	7.2	37.4
	Black African	32	6.1	6.2	43.6
	Turkish/Kurdish	115	22.0	22.4	66.0
	Asian	34	6.5	6.6	72.6
	Eastern European	32	6.1	6.2	78.8
	Somalian	54	10.3	10.5	89.3
	Other	55	10.5	10.7	100.0
	Total	514	98.5	100.0	
	Missing	8	1.5		
	Total	522	100.0		

icity: Although there was some fluctuation of the young people within each school with up to approximately twenty pupils per school moving each year, the ethnicity within the year groups changed very little. The details shown above are for year seven, and over the three years the maximum rise was for those of Somalian heritage which rose by two percent in year nine. The maximum fall was for those of White British heritage, which fell by two percent on the figures shown below for the year nine ethnicity.

The ethnicity of the young people involved in the questionnaire is shown in table 18 above. In terms of impact, in year nine ethnicity does indicate a strong correlation with involvement in crime and ethnicity, with Black-British, African-Caribbean, White British and those from the ‘other ‘ group of young people being proportionally more likely to have been involved in crime than the other groups. In particular this variation is much starker in School 2. ASB also seems to replicate the above pattern, with Black ethnic groups and White British being particularly likely to have been involved in ASB. Being in trouble in primary or secondary school does not show any real correlation with ethnicity, although a slightly stronger link is shown for secondary school, but it was not statistically significant.

Although there is variation between the three schools for the figures for various risky behaviours, overall there is no correlation between ethnicity and the use of drugs or alcohol, weapon and knife carrying and gang identification.

There is quite a difference between the two year groups in terms of ethnicity and association with behaviour as in year eight apart from one particular school which had a slight correlation between ethnicity and crime, the overall picture for year eight was that ethnicity has no association with criminal, anti-social or risky behaviour.

8.4.2 Gender: Gender appears to be closely correlated with the likelihood of a young person committing crime, with males much more likely to have done something criminal than females. In year eight School 2 was the only school not to demonstrate this relationship particularly strongly. In year nine, overall twenty two percent had done something criminal, but this rises to over thirty percent for males. In particular School 3 shows the strongest variation between males and females, with males much more likely to have been involved in crime. In contrast, ASB does not show a gender correlation in either year group, with all cohorts equally likely to be involved in such activity.

Being in trouble at Primary School also shows no correlation to gender in year eight, although School 3 does show more of a link than the other schools, with School 2 showing a slight correlation in year eight for secondary schools. This pattern is replicated for being in trouble at secondary school, albeit with a slightly stronger inter-correlation with gender, and School 1 showing a stronger correlation than the others.

In terms of being involved in risky behaviours there is no link shown between any of the risky behaviours of drug and alcohol consumption, or carrying a weapon or knife or being a gang member and gender. So gender shows no real correlation except for crime and males but some areas do show strong correlation, such as family make-up and these will be described in the section below.

8.5 Influence of the family

8.5.1 Introduction: As well as generic factors being linked to behaviour there are some more specific factors that appear to be statistically relevant. As was discussed earlier the family can play a significant part in shaping the behaviour of an individual young person and the effects

of the family make up, together with both parental and sibling imprisonment will be discussed in this next section.

8.5.2 Link between crime and family make-up: The makeup of a family shows a strong link to criminal behaviour, with those living with a mother and their male partner, or a father on their own, being much more likely to be involved in crime. In year nine, whilst only twenty two percent of all students had done something criminal, this almost doubles to forty two percent for those living with their mother and their male partner. This is replicated in year eight where a young person living with a parent, living with a partner, was between two and four times more likely to be involved in crime compared to those living with both parents. The above is replicated for a likelihood to commit ASB across both years, although one school shows a considerably higher correlation than the other two, but it is a different school each year.

There is no difference between the year groups regarding being in trouble at school and family make up, as neither show a link. This is the same for risky behaviours previously mentioned, as there is no link with family make up and the use of drugs or alcohol, weapon and knife carrying and gang identification. The strength of the correlation in year nine between family make up and crime is shown in the chart on the following page together with the Chi-Square test table. Since $\text{Chi-Square} = 19.622$ and p-value almost zero we have evidence to suggest there is an association between criminal behaviour and family make-up.

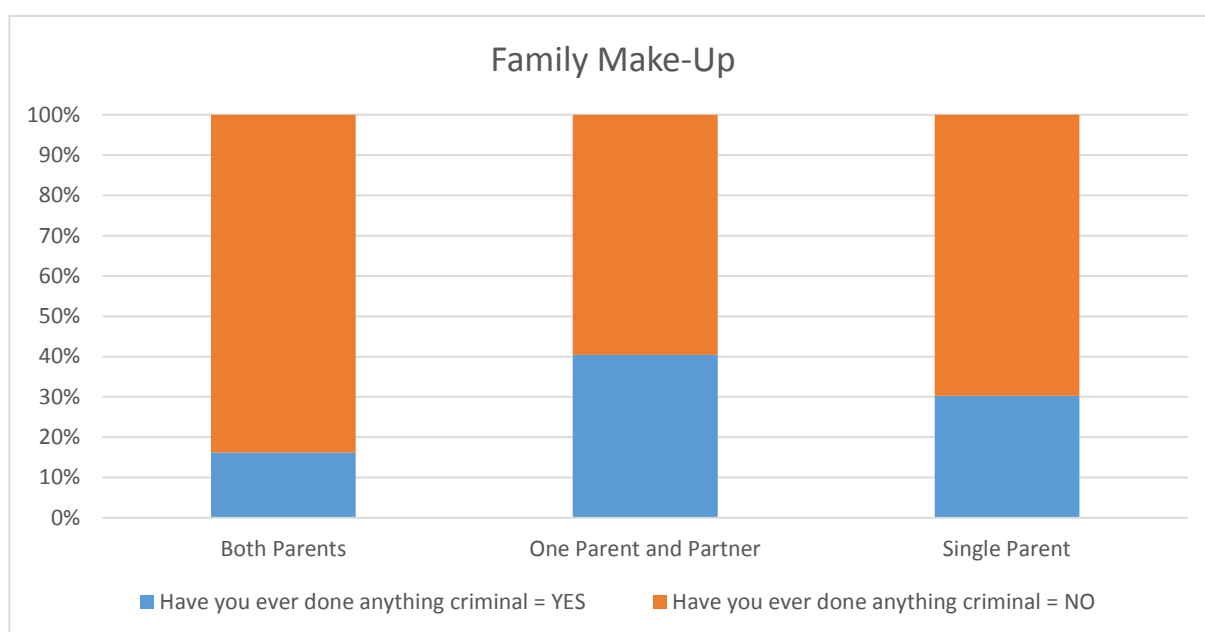


Table 19: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.622 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.798	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.599	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	463		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.66.

8.5.3 Link between crime and parental imprisonment: Another area involving the family that shows a close link to behaviour is where parents have been sent to prison, which shows a significant link to children committing crime. In year nine, overall twenty two percent have committed crime, but this rises to fifty five percent for those whose parents have been sent to prison, although Schools 1 and 3 showed a much stronger correlation than School 2. The same correlation applies in year eight where it is even stronger as they are over three times more likely to be involved in crime. The strength of the correlation between crime and parents having been to prison for year nine is shown in the table 20 below together with the Chi-square test in table 21. With Chi-Square = 33.148 and p-value almost zero we have evidence that there is an association between crime and parental imprisonment, with an acknowledgement that the actual number of young people whose parents had been to prison is low, and therefore results should be treated with caution.

Table 20: Have you ever done anything criminal * Have your parents ever been to prison Crosstabulation

(n=464, n*=58)

			Have your parents ever been to prison		Total
			Yes	No	
Have you ever done anything criminal	Yes	Count	29	76	105
		% within Have your parents ever been to prison	54.7%	18.5%	22.6%
	No	Count	24	335	359
		% within Have your parents ever been to prison	45.3%	81.5%	77.4%
Total	Count		53	411	464
	% within Have your parents ever been to prison		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 21: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35.187 ^a	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction ^b	33.148	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	29.710	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	35.111	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	464				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.99.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

y

, ASB is much more likely to have been committed by those whose parents have gone to prison, again with two schools showing a stronger correlation, although a different two schools from crime, and this is the same for both years. However although there is a strong correlation for crime and ASB with parental imprisonment, being in trouble at school does not show a clear link to the parents having been in prison, and this is the same for both year groups.

In terms of being involved in risky behaviours and the link to parental imprisonment, drug taking does show a correlation, with students whose parents have been to prison, showing a loose link in year eight but a much stronger link in year nine, where they are almost three times as likely to have taken drugs. In contrast, alcohol and being drunk does not show this same pattern, and this is the same for both year groups. Weapon carrying is much more common for those whose parents have been in prison, although knife carrying does not show this link, and neither does gang membership and this is the same for both year groups.

8.5.4 Link between crime and sibling imprisonment: As with parents above, siblings having been in prison shows a strong link to the committing of crime, with those with siblings in prison being almost twice as likely to be involved in criminality themselves in year nine, which is a slight fall in the level of correlation from year eight, where it is two and a half to three times more likely. With Chi-Square = 18.094 and p-value almost zero we have evidence that there is an association between crime and sibling imprisonment. The above trend is also replicated for ASB across both years. The above figures can be seen in tables 22 and 23 below.

Table 22: Have you ever done anything criminal * Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison
Crosstabulation (n=465, n*=57)

			Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison		Total
			Yes	No	
Have you ever done anything criminal	Yes	Count	22	83	105
		% within Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison	48.9%	19.8%	22.6%
	No	Count	23	337	360
		% within Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison	51.1%	80.2%	77.4%
Total	Count		45	420	465
	% within Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 23: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.725 ^a	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction ^b	18.094	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	16.857	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.682	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	465				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.16.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

year eight where there was no link, in year nine pupils with siblings in prison are far more likely to have themselves been in trouble at primary and secondary school, which is in contrast to the pattern seen for pupils with parents in prison.

In terms of risky behaviour drug taking is more common for those with siblings in prison, but alcohol use shows no link, and this was the same for both year groups. Weapon carrying is more likely for those with siblings in prison, with the correlation appearing to rise with age as the link is stronger in year nine than in year eight. However knife carrying specifically, does not have such a strong correlation. Gang membership is much more likely for those with siblings in prison, particularly in two of the schools. An individual being over three times more likely to identify as a gang member, if they have a sibling who has been in prison, and this correlation was a similar level in both year groups.

8.6 Parental Discipline

8.6.1 Introduction: Parents use a variety of interventions to try and influence the behaviour of their children. Whilst those chosen to be used in the questionnaire to assess their use and effectiveness are not the only ones used, they were the most frequently used according to young people spoken to prior to the commencement of the thesis. The fact very few questionnaires had a different parental intervention shown by 'other' being given as a response, indicates the ones within the questionnaire were the correct options. The use and effectiveness will be shown in table 24 below.

Table 24: Use of Parental Discipline for year 8 & 9 Students

Intervention	Year 8		Year 9	
	Use	Effectiveness	Use	Effectiveness
Grounding	44%	72%	40%	61%
Phone Removed	35%	70%	37%	69%
Talking	66%	85%	70%	82%
Shouting	50%	60%	56%	49%
Pocket Money	19%	75%	14%	72%
Hitting	15%	60%	18%	49%
Sent to Room	42%	59%	34%	48%
Clubs etc	10%	64%	10%	65%

It can be seen that the figures for the use of interventions remained fairly consistent over the two years, but that the effectiveness of every parental intervention, except the sparingly used withdrawal of the ability to attend clubs, was less with the year nine pupils. Talking to the young people was the most effective intervention by ten percent in both years, with being shouted at, hit or sent to their rooms the least effective in both years, again by about ten percent. Some of the young people did give reasons why behaviour did or didn't work on the questionnaires, and these responses are reflected in the more detailed qualitative findings below.

As regards parental discipline the pupils interviewed individually or in groups had quite a lot to say about parental discipline and in general they regarded it as not very effective, an example being that in Group 3 only 4 out of 15 thought their parent's attempts to control their behaviour were successful. The parental interventions suggested by the questionnaire are

listed below, with the possible statistical link to poor behaviour mentioned where appropriate. If there is no such mention there was no noted statistical relevance to the intervention.

8.6.2 Grounding: In general, most young people did not feel that grounding worked as a deterrent. Group 1 said that young people mostly communicate by electronic means and that being prevented from going out did not actually restrict contact with friends. Only a few of the forty interviewed in the PRU thought this was an effective intervention for the reason given above. There was also the issue of parents often releasing the young person from the ‘grounding’ very quickly after the sanction had been imposed. This happened for a variety of reasons according to the young people but the main one seemed to be if they moaned constantly to their parents most felt their parents would give in quickly ‘for an easy life’. Most saw this as weakness and were happy to exploit it. As explained by both Subjects 7 and 8 when explaining why grounding and other parental interventions didn’t work:

“When I get grounded I just throw a strop until she gives in, and she always gives up in the end” “so you throw a strop every time you don’t get your own way and get your parents to back down” “yeah pretty much”.

8.6.3 Taking Phone away: Having a phone or other electronic gadgets taken away doesn’t work for two reasons, according to Group 1. Firstly parents were weak and often gave the phone or other electronic device that had been confiscated back almost immediately. Secondly young people quite often had a second phone their parents knew nothing about and would use that instead, or if access to a computer was restricted in an attempt to deny access to the internet, then young people could use their smart phone for this purpose. This can be seen from the comments of Subjects 3,4 and 6 who stated:

“if they take your phone you get another one, or just do without it till they give it back, there is always a solution” and “my mother took my phone off me but that didn’t work as I hardly ever bring it out in case someone tries to jack (rob) me, so I just do without it, I know she’ll give it back after a while” and “they took my phone away but I just went and found where they put it and took it back and they never said anything”

Group 4 thought that such a deterrent could work but only in order to get the electronic gadget back, rather than having reflected on their behaviour and decided it was inappropriate.

Those interviewed said if this intervention worked at all it was only because they wanted to get their phone back, and that none of them had actually reflected on what they had done, and concluded they needed to change their behaviour or attitude as reflected by Subject 5 who stated:

“taking my phone doesn’t work cos I just buy another one, it’s no big deal” but when questioned further said “it worked a bit but I didn’t think about what I did, I just wanted the phone back”

It could therefore be argued that this meant that in reality this intervention did not work as the young person would repeat the behaviour again and again, which is what the young people said happened.

8.6.4 Shouting: There was almost a universal feeling from all the young people questioned in the PRU, and from within the groups spoken to that being shouted at does not work to alter behaviour. The consensus was that most young people stopped listening as soon as a parent or guardian started shouting. Also if they were shouted at on a regular basis they stopped listening to anything their parent said. There is also a danger that any good work done as a result of talking to the young person is negated if the carer then resorts to shouting as suggested by Subject 37 who stated:

“talking sometimes worked but then they would often shout which meant I took no notice of what they had been talking about before that”

8.6.5 Links between parental shouting and poor behaviour: Shouting does appear to be linked to young people being involved in crime, with those who were shouted at by carers being more likely to have done something criminal, and this link was strongest for year eight students. However, the question did not ask about the timescale of the young person being shouted at. It may therefore be a possibility that young people were shouted at after having done something criminal or negative, rather than shouting necessarily being a contributory factor to the criminality having taken place. The pattern is replicated for ASB, albeit with a stronger link and this is true of both year groups. Furthermore, those who were shouted at are one and a half times more likely to have been in trouble at school, and again this figure was consistent across the two year groups. There is no correlation to being involved in any of the risky behaviours, except a slight correlation to being drunk in year nine students.

8.6.6 Talking: In terms of just ‘talking’ to young people, over two thirds of parents did this but only about half actually asked the young person what would work to improve their behaviour as part of the conversation. However several thought it would be ‘weird’ if their parents had done this such as Subject 1 who described it as ‘embarrassing’.

Several of the young people from Group 7 said they thought just talking to the offenders during the prison visit had been very effective. However as has previously been described just talking is not enough and young people need to feel they are being listened to which as Subjects 6 and 20 and others describe is not always the case:

“my parents did speak to me about my behaviour but they never took any notice of what I said” and “I did suggest things to my parents to make me behave but my parents never listen to me”

8.6.7 Stopping pocket money: Interestingly the majority of young people said they did not receive pocket money, but just asked for money when they needed it. Only a couple of people thought this an effective intervention as most said they would just go without or get the money from somewhere else, which could mean resorting to crime.

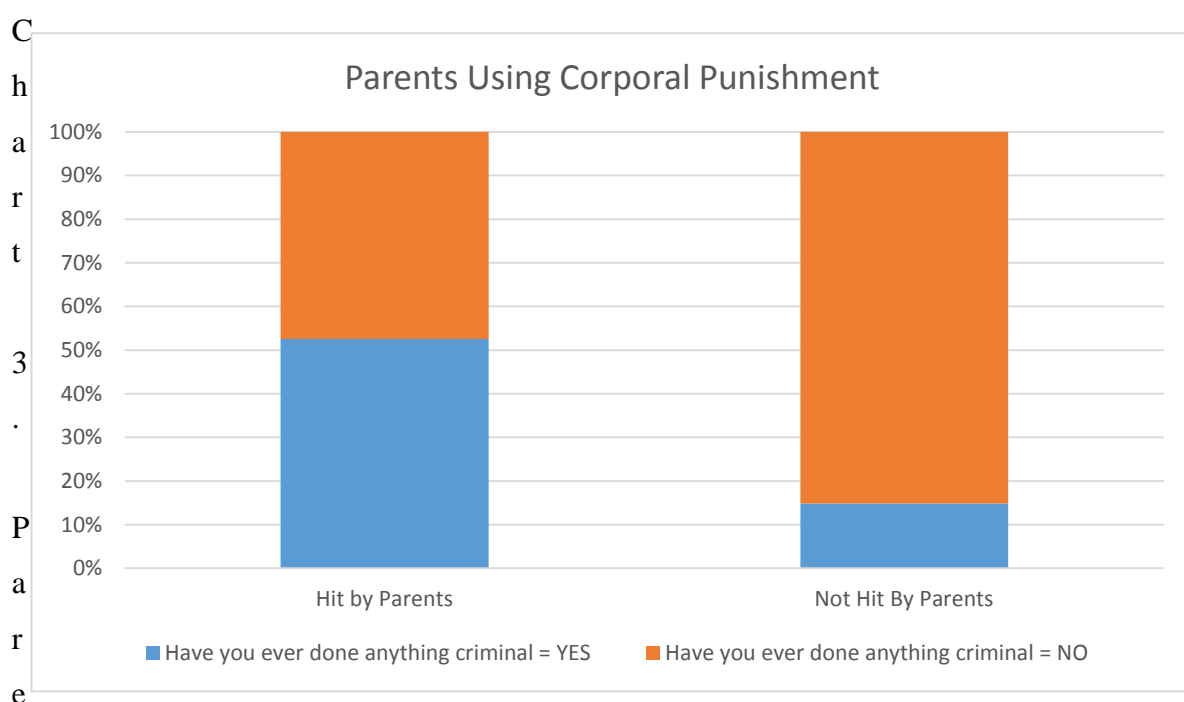
8.6.8 Hitting the young person: Approximately one third of the young people in the PRU had been subject to being hit by their parents, and of that number again approximately one third said it worked to improve their behaviour. This figure for being hit by a parent was almost twice the rate for young people in schools. As with shouting the timescale of being hit was again not discussed and so it is not clear if the assault happened before or after the bad behaviour. The main reason given for it being effective by the young people in the PRU was that it hurt and they didn’t want it to happen again, but this result was with very low sample numbers.

So they had not reflected on their behaviour and realised it was wrong, but reacted out of fear as indicated by Subject 19 who stated:

“I have hit my step dad and he did nothing, but I am really scared of my real dad as he is very strict and hits me if I misbehave”

The suggestion from the young people was therefore that once the pain wore off so did the inclination to behave and so this form of intervention did not work for long term change. However Group 1 suggested that parents hitting them worked and was acceptable as long as the violence consisted of no more ‘than a gentle slap’.

8.6.9 Links between hitting and poor behaviour: Children who were hit by their parents in year eight were three times more likely to be involved in crime. This figure rose to almost five times more likely to be involved in crime for year nine students who had been hit by their parents. This strong correlation is displayed in all of the schools. As with ‘being shouted at’ there was no timescale element within the question, so no way of establishing if the corporal punishment was delivered prior to, or after the criminal behaviour, or how many times the punishment was issued. The link to this intervention and criminal behaviour can be seen in the chart below, together with the chi square test for this question in table 25.



nts using corporal punishment

Figure 3 Parents using corporal punishment and criminal behaviour
Table 25: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	61.489 ^a	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction ^b	59.371	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	54.533	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	61.354	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	454				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 22.22.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

With Chi-Square = 59.371 and p-value almost zero there is evidence of an association between corporal punishment and criminal behaviour.

The quantitative data suggests a link between young people being hit at home and criminal activity. Although no young person interviewed made this overt link, there was quite a lot of anger and frustration by those subject to such discipline as indicated by Subject 21 who stated:

“my parents have been arrested for assaulting me.....I hate them”

In terms of whether hitting the young person worked as a deterrent, the majority of those questioned in the PRU said that it did not, but also that as a result of such punishment they stopped listening to anything their parents said as indicated by Subject 6 who stated:

“my dad used to hit me a lot and ignored anything I said” He was asked if it worked to control his behaviour but he said *“I got used to the pain, it just meant I stopped listening to anything they said”*

Some in Group 3 said it did work as it was painful, so they didn't want it to happen again so behaved. However, in reality it had not worked as they admitted firstly that they had not reflected on their behaviour, but also that they very quickly forgot about the pain, which meant they regularly repeated the behaviour, subsequently incurring the same punishment.

Although the research has not looked specifically at ethnicity in terms of discipline there does appear to be some evidence from the young people that being hit by parents is more common in some cultures and ethnicities than others as indicated by Subjects 34 and 13 who stated:

“I have been hit but it is part of Kurdish society so you just accept it” and “it is part of Nigerian heritage, it is part of my father’s culture to use the belt”

For poor behaviour other than crime the pattern of correlation is replicated for ASB, albeit with a slightly weaker link. Nonetheless, those who were hit are approximately three times more likely to have committed ASB than those who were not, and this is the same for both year groups. The same proviso on these figures would again be that there is no time scale to the question. Unlike in year eight, in year nine being in trouble at school also showed a correlation with those who were hit much more likely to have been in trouble at school.

Year eight showed no link to any risky behaviours, but in year nine drug use is approximately twice as common in those who were hit by parents. Being drunk, however, did not appear to be linked and this is the reverse of those who were shouted at by parents. Weapon and knife carrying is also much more common in those who were hit, but gang membership shows no correlation with having been hit.

8.6.10 Being sent to their room: This was not seen as an effective intervention because it was not very well enforced, with several young people saying they just went out instead, for which they received no further sanction. The main reason people said it was ineffective was that most of them said they liked being in their rooms, as this was where their computer was and they therefore spent most of their time there anyway.

8.6.11 Being stopped from attending clubs or activities: This was not seen as a sanction as the majority of people spoken to did not attend any clubs or leisure activities. Apart from one subject who said he hated missing football training and therefore a threat to miss that was effective, all said they were not bothered by missing the activity and so this sanction was not effective.

8.6.12 Being sent away....possibly to another country: A final form of attempted discipline by parents was to either threaten to send the young person to the other parent, in this country, or to threaten to send the young person to their family’s country of origin. This was noted by Subject 28 who stated:

“I was threatened with being sent to Poland, but didn’t believe them as they had threatened my brother with the same but never done it”

The two themes of this statement were repeated. Children of parents who were usually first generation immigrants to the UK were threatened that they would be sent back to their parent’s country, if they did not behave. Nobody had actually been sent back, but just like subject 28, subjects 6, 13, and 29 were all threatened with such action. Subject 32 was also threatened with such action, but wanted to be sent to Cyprus as he felt he had more chance of getting a job, and so was not deterred by the threat.

8.6.13 Conclusion of parental discipline: The majority of young people questioned in the PRU stated that their parents did not ask them what might work to alter their behaviour. A couple of people from Group 1 said this had worked, but the majority said that this had not happened, but that if it had, they would have seen this as weak and probably taken advantage of the situation. Group 3 said that generally parents did not ask the young person what would work to alter their behaviour, or talk to them about it, but that most would not expect their parents to do this. In general it was very common for the young people to say that parental discipline was often weak and inconsistent. Several examples of mobile phones being taken, but then given back, or people being grounded, but then permitted to go out were given, some of which are evidenced by quotes from the young people.

Subject 37 said it was better to reward good behaviour than punish poor behaviour, and that consistency was crucial and gave the example of the positive effects of talking with his parents being negated by the negative effects of being shouted at, and made angry by this. So weak and inconsistent parenting was not seen as effective. However young people could not suggest any other form of intervention that they thought would be successful and most thought they just needed to be left alone to work stuff out and make their own decisions

8.7 School Interventions

8.7.1 Introduction: After parental discipline the next environment where young people are subject to discipline is in school. This next section will look at schools, and like families will look at the type and effectiveness of interventions used by schools to try and control behaviour, followed by an assessment of whether there is any correlation between school

behaviour, crime and ASB. In terms of answering the question about whether they had been in trouble at school, the question in year seven was not broken down into primary and secondary. If the combined figures for each of the three years are compared, the figures are very similar from year seven to nine at sixty four, sixty five and sixty four percent respectively, indicating approximately two thirds of young people get into trouble at school each year.

Being in trouble at primary school does show a correlation with crime and ASB, with in year nine thirty percent of those in trouble at primary school committing a crime, whereas this figure is only ten percent for those not having been in trouble at primary school. These figures are similar for year eight pupils.

Individuals who get into trouble in secondary school are significantly more likely to be involved in ASB or Crime. In year nine, only six percent of those who had not been in trouble in secondary had committed crime, compared to thirty percent of pupils who had been in trouble in secondary school, and again the figures for year eight pupils were very similar. Additionally, those in trouble at secondary school are approximately five times more likely to be involved in ASB in year nine, although this was a reduction from year eight where this figure was nine times more likely to be involved.

In terms of what school do to try and control and alter behaviour, the types of intervention, what percentage of young people had received such an intervention, and their effectiveness is shown in table 26 on the page below.

Table 26: Effectiveness of School Intervention concerning poor behaviour

Intervention	Year 8		Year 9	
	Use	Effectiveness	Use	Effectiveness
Report	25%	62%	33%	53%

Detention	53%	45%	55%	38%
Talking	42%	67%	44%	62%
Shouting	38%	27%	43%	18%
Anger M'ment	9%	52%	10%	55%
Mentoring	9%	76%	10%	54%
Parents informed	62%	64%	59%	59%
Internal Exclu	11%	61%	15%	32%
External Exclu	6%	44%	8%	40%

Looking at the number of young people subjected to an intervention, all interventions except informing parents of poor behaviour, had been used on a greater percentage of young people in year nine than in year eight. One suggestion for this might be that behaviour was declining as the young people got older, however there are several other possible causes, and so no clear causal conclusions can be drawn. In terms of effectiveness, and similar to the results of interventions used by parents, apart from anger management, the effectiveness of all interventions in year nine was less than in year eight. Each intervention will now be looked at in more detail detailing any apparent statistical link to criminal or anti-social behaviour or being involved in risky behaviours from the questionnaire followed by the opinions of young people interviewed. If there is no statistical relevance to the intervention then the section will immediately refer to the views of the interviewees.

8.7.2 Report : The young people did not generally think being placed on report was very effective for various reasons, the main one being there appeared to be very little sanction for failing to get a report card signed as illustrated by the comments of Subject 38 who stated:

“I never got a report card signed and I never went to any detention I got”

Further questioning revealed there was no sanction for failing to do either. Those in Group 3 agreed with this view and felt that schools did not take this intervention very seriously themselves, with a couple of people saying that most teachers were not interested in signing their cards. As a result all in the group felt this intervention to be ineffective and a couple of people said they got so frustrated with the system, it actually made their behaviour worse. It

is clear from speaking to the deputy head teacher of school 1 that the support for many behavioural interventions from teachers is ‘mixed’.

8.7.3 Detention: The use of detention is one of the most commonly used sanctions with almost one hundred percent of young people in year eight who had been in trouble at school receiving such a sanction. It is therefore important it is effective but it is one of the least effective interventions from the questionnaire data and also an intervention that those interviewed really felt does not work.

The main reason the young people felt this is that they often did not attend the allotted detention and there was no sanction for this, as illustrated by the comments of Subjects 15, 22 and 32 who all stated very similarly that:

“detention didn’t work as I never went” and “I never went to detention so it never worked” and “detention didn’t work because I never went”

When questioned further about what happened as a consequence of this all agreed that there was no consequence to this. However when questioned further, they like many of the young people thought detention would work if there was a punishment for non-attendance and it was strict when you got there.

When a Deputy Head teacher responsible for discipline at school one was spoken to about this, she stated in reality they didn’t have the time to chase the pupils who do not turn up, even though they are generally the pupils whose behaviour is of most concern.

Another reason given by the young people as to why detention didn’t work, was that even when they did attend, it was often not for long, or there was no real discipline inside the detention room, so again it was not really thought of as a punishment by the young people. As Subject 39 stated:

“Detention didn’t work because it was usually only fifteen minutes long”. When questioned further he stated “if it had been longer, say an hour, on a Friday afternoon it might have worked”

This supported the comments of other pupils and the Deputy Head Teacher that the most effective detentions were on a Saturday morning. However, a male from Group 4 agreed

Saturday detentions were the best deterrent but said when he eventually received such a sanction, as a result of previous non-attendance during the week, he failed to attend but received no further sanction and the school just seemed to give up. Interestingly since the provisional analysis of this thesis was made known to School 1 they re-introduced Saturday detentions, although the Deputy Head Teacher was non-committal when asked if it was in response to what the pupils had said. Subsequently the Saturday detentions were cancelled due to the continued non-attendance of pupils and the reluctance of the school to externally or permanently exclude the pupil as a result, which again meant there was little deterrent not to fail to attend. The school has now introduced lunch time detentions and these have proved effective as the school can enforce attendance and the pupils say they do not like missing social time with their friends.

8.7.4 Talking: The majority spoken to said that they were happy to talk to teachers and they found this to be effective. However most stated that their school had not spoken to them about the best way to alter their behaviour, although most could not think of an intervention that had not been tried by the school that might have worked. One young person suggested being let out of school at lunch times and treated ‘more like an adult’ would have helped but acknowledged the practical difficulties this would pose for the school. However being treated ‘more like an adult’ was a common theme.

8.7.5 Shouting: All stated they had been shouted at and all felt it did not work to alter their behaviour. Many said they did not listen to what was being said and often were not aware of why they were being shouted at. Some felt that they were unfairly shouted at which they said sometimes led to a deterioration in their behaviour.

8.7.6 Anger Management: Those who had undergone anger management in year nine are over twice as likely to have been involved in crime and ASB. However this was not shown in year eight, where there was only a loose connection to crime and none at all to ASB. In terms of risky behaviours, drug use is closely linked to involvement in an anger management intervention, particularly in two of the schools. In these schools in year nine, pupils who have taken drugs are four to six times more likely to have undertaken anger management sessions. The same link to drug taking is present in year eight but not quite as strong, while alcohol use shows no such link. Knife and weapon carrying is much more common for those involved in anger management in both year groups. Gang membership shows no link in year eight but

year nine shows gang members are three times more likely to have undertaken an anger management intervention.

For the interviewed pupils although some did say they thought this intervention worked, such as Subject 37, a greater number felt that it did not work such as Subject 21. Some actually thought the anger management interventions made their behaviour worse, and when questioned further said that they often found the professional carrying out the session annoying, or the questions they were being asked were very annoying and made them angry. This is illustrated by the comments of Subjects 4 and 30 who said:

“anger management didn’t work as the questions just made me feel angry and stupid”
and *“anger management didn’t work as the questions were rubbish”*

Despite these quotes the majority of those who said the intervention didn’t work, thought that with the right questions, asked by the right person, that it could work to control their anger.

8.7.7 Mentoring: Those involved in crime and ASB are far more likely to have a mentor compared to those not involved in such activity. This is the same for both year groups and as with anger management, might be due to both sanctions often being given to young people by YOS and referral units.

In year eight there is no link to drugs, but in year nine those who have taken drugs are almost five times more likely to have a mentor than those who have not taken such substances. Alcohol however similar to anger management does not show such a link for either year group. Weapon carrying, and, to a lesser extent, knife carrying is more common for those with a mentor in year nine, with the two being reversed for year eight with knife carrying having the more prominent link. In year eight there is no link with gang membership, but for year nine gang members are almost three times more likely to have a mentor.

For the interviewed pupils, mentoring was seen as one of, if not the most effective method of intervention, but only if the young person felt a connection with the mentor, and those who had never had a mentor also felt that it may have worked for them such as Subject 2 who stated ‘If I had been given a mentor I think that would have worked’.

Those who said mentoring didn't work nearly always said it was because the mentor was wrong for them, such as Subjects 5, 21 and 30 who said

“mentoring didn't work as they chose the wrong person for me” and “the mentor didn't work because I didn't like her” and “mentoring didn't work as I couldn't relate to the person”

When questioned all of the above subjects said if someone like the YEP music co-ordinator, who worked at the PRU, had been the mentor it would have worked because they could relate to him, and they knew he would talk on their level, a fact supported by Subject 36 who said:

“mentoring worked because they were on the same level as me”

These views were supported by all the young people in Group's 1 and 2, many of whom had used a mentor, but none of which thought that it had really worked due to feeling no connection with the mentor. The importance of choosing the right mentor for each individual is illustrated by the comments of the subjects who supported the intervention such as Subject 25 who stated:

“mentoring worked for me because I felt like I could really speak to the person”

Several young people said the mentors in the PRU were good, better than in school, such as Subjects 15 and 40 who said:

“mentoring works in the PRU as (named mentor) is really good”, and “I was given a mentor for the first time in the PRU and that works because they understand you more”

A general discussion on behaviour occurred at the end of the interview with this subject, during which he expressed the belief that all schools should offer an effective mentor scheme as it was the best way to control young people's behaviour. This view was supported by the young men within group 4, who said that (named mentor) and (named mentor) had been instrumental in turning their life around. These assigned mentors were the same ethnicity as the mentees, but the young people said it was not this but the ability of the mentor to understand the mentee and listen that was important. They also stressed that the mentor needs to be independent of the school for the scheme to work. A final endorsement of mentoring was provided by Subject 41, who said he was committing crime every day until a mentor

provided by Compass helped him. He thought there was a good chance he might now be dead or serving a long prison sentence had this mentor not come into his life.

8.7.8 Parents informed of poor behaviour: There appears to be a difference of opinion between the two groups of young people questioned about this. Those in school thought this was one of the most effective interventions, but those interviewed in the PRU felt such a sanction made no difference to their behaviour. When questioned about why this was the case the responses were generally either that their parents didn't care, or that they didn't care what their parents thought. Again the difference in age groups may account for the variation in the effectiveness of this intervention as other research has suggested the influence of parents is declining as the school years progress.

8.7.9 Internal Exclusion: Those who have had an internal exclusion are much more likely to have been involved in crime and ASB in both years eight and nine, although this pattern is not displayed within one of the schools. Those who were internally excluded are much more likely to have taken illegal drugs, although not alcohol, with again similar results in both year groups. Weapon carrying and knife carrying in both year groups is strongly correlated, with those who were internally excluded in year nine being almost three times as likely to have carried such an object. Gang membership, however, does not show a link to internal exclusions in either year group.

For the interviewed young people internal exclusion was generally thought not to work, but mainly due to it being too lenient and easy when in the internal exclusion unit as stated by Subject 34, and supported by Subjects 17 and 36 who both said they used to sleep when in the unit. When asked if it had been strict when he had got to the unit, would it have worked and Subject 36 replied that he thought it probably would. This is supported by several young people such as Subject 9 who stated:

“Internal exclusion worked depending on which room we were in. In one room it was great fun and we all messed about but the in the other unit it was more strict and serious so that wasn't much fun so we behaved better and didn't want to go back”

Subject 9 was supported in this view that a strict internal unit was effective by Subjects 10 and 11 who both agreed with the comments about a strict regime and no breaks as stated by Subject 11 who stated:

Yeah you mean lockdown, we had a room with no windows, and they put black plastic on all the other windows and they made you work with no breaks or anything like that. That worked because it was horrible”

This was a recurring theme with school discipline; that it did not work because the schools did not enforce it well enough and so the young people had no trepidation at all about being given an internal exclusion. Almost all of the pupils who said it didn’t work said it may have done had the unit been strict and they had been made to work in silence. This was supported by those in Group 4 who said it had worked, but only where the unit was very strict, made you work all day, and did not let you out at lunch time to see friends.

8.7.10 External Exclusion: External exclusions are twice as likely for those who have committed crime to those who have not, and this is similar for both year groups. However, for ASB there is only a similar correlation for year nine pupils. For those indulging in risky behaviours, drug use is almost four times more common in those who have been externally excluded, compared to those who have not been in year nine. No such link existed for year eight pupils. Weapon carrying is also much more likely for pupils who have been externally excluded, in particular, knife carrying is almost three times as likely and this is similar for both year groups. This is not true for gang membership where it is only in year nine where gang members are far more likely to have been externally excluded where they are three times more likely to have been externally excluded compared to non-gang members

For the interviewees the general feeling with the majority of young people was that external exclusion did not work, as the young people were happy to stay at home and watch TV or play computer games. Subject 36 stated:

‘External exclusion didn’t work because I just watched TV all day” When asked about being given work to complete during the exclusion period, which schools are required to do, he replied *“work was given but it was never checked so I never did it”*

This position was slightly better than Subject 21 who stated that when he was permanently excluded he was never actually assigned any extra work to complete. Again the Deputy Head Teacher of School 1 admitted that there was sometimes an issue getting work to an excluded pupil, and if work was set, getting the work properly assessed.

However not all thought external exclusion didn't work, firstly as being excluded after often many incidents of poor behaviour made the young person think about the consequences of their actions. Subject 20 amongst others stated:

“Getting excluded made me grow up and stop taking things for granted”

Another reason a few of the young people thought external exclusion worked was that they were aware of the negative influence their friends could have on them, as described by Subject 21 their behaviour improved when they got excluded, as she wasn't with friends who were a bad influence. A couple of young people in Group 3 said being excluded for a period of more than two weeks meant they got bored and actually wanted to go back to school. However, when questioned further as to whether their behaviour subsequently improved when returned to school, the reply was generally 'not really'.

A final point concerning exclusion was that several of the young people talked of various ways school's got them out of the school without actually excluding them. This was through external providers of education, where they stayed on the school roll or were advised to leave as it was in their best interests before being excluded. Subject 40 stated:

“I was excluded from one school, but I don't think it works. I was also advised to leave two other schools before I was permanently excluded”

There is no way of knowing the rationale of the schools in these courses of action except to note that either of the above options would not appear on figures to be examined by Ofsted, should there be an inspection, unlike the number of days for excluded pupils.

8.7.11 Reasons pupils felt they were excluded: Sadly sometimes the interventions described above don't work, or sometimes there are 'one off' incidents that require pupils to be permanently excluded from school. As all the pupils in the PRU had been excluded from at least one school it seemed appropriate to ask them why they thought it had happened. Clearly all of the young people at the PRU had been in trouble at secondary school having been permanently excluded, however not all of them said they had also been in trouble at primary school. In fact a smaller percentage had been in trouble at primary school, than those questioned at school. In terms of why they misbehaved at school, various reasons were given, including deliberate poor behaviour in order to get a school move as pointed out by subject

15 who stated she didn't like her first school so she deliberately played up to get moved. There were some common themes, the first of which was gaining attention, as stated by Subject 1. A second reason given was trying to be popular through being funny or the 'class clown', as described by Subjects 5 and 12 who stated:

"I liked attention and got it through being the class clown.....but the Head Teacher hated me anyway because I pulled her wig off" and "I liked being the class clown as a way of getting attention"

A third reason given for exclusion was through trying to establish their reputation and place in the 'pecking order' as demonstrated by the comments of Subject 3 who stated he got into trouble mostly for fighting and trying to prove he was 'top dog'. There was also a feeling amongst several of the excluded pupils that they would have behaved had they been given more respect and treated in a more adult way. As Subjects 4, 20 and 21 pointed out:

"If the school had treated me more like an adult I might have behaved better" and 'the teachers talk to you like shit' and "the teachers talk to you because it's their job, they don't actually care about you"

There was a feeling from some that existing conditions or trauma had not been dealt with correctly, which had resulted in their poor behaviour. In terms of mental health conditions some felt that existing treatment was not always good as Subjects 19 and 32 stated:

"I have ADHD which I get treatment for, but sometimes the treatment really winds me up and I get mad" and "The CAMHS group in school made me and my mother argue.....so we stopped going"

As is mentioned previously a weakness in the current system is that either the parent or young person can choose to withdraw from treatment felt necessary by mental health professionals and so several young people with diagnosed mental health conditions reach adulthood having received little or no treatment. Several pupils including Subject 39 made a general point that poor teaching can lead to problems in class which can lead to young people being labelled. As mentioned previously labelling is one possible reason for poor behaviour, and this was the view of Briggs who suggested that there are three reasons for exclusion from school, being labelling, not understanding the learning and pupils feeling their voice wasn't being heard.

Labelling was felt by all except one of the forty interviewed in the PRU, to be at least partly responsible for their exclusion from secondary school as seen from the comments of Subjects 3, 4, and 15 who stated:

“labelling was a major reason for my exclusion...but the PRU was much fairer” and “my brother had been excluded from the school and even my mother, who I didn’t always get on with, said the school had it in for me” and “when I got to (Named school) the teacher said to me ‘we’ve heard all about you’ and they never gave me a chance”

Some felt that even if they were not excluded, they were internally labelled and as a result found it almost impossible to break the cycle of behaviour. Subject 7 stated:

“I really wanted to change, but the school never really gave me a chance” and when questioned further stated “I really think being labelled was totally to blame for my behaviour and exclusions”

An interesting point concerning labelling, was that some of the pupils of the PRU felt they had been labelled for a second time by being sent to the referral unit. As Subject 7 pointed out:

“people also label kids who attend the PRU and change their attitude towards us when they find out where we go”

He pointed out that he was too mature now, but that a couple of years ago he might have got into trouble trying to live up to the reputation of the PRU and of how ‘hard’ the pupils were.

The second and third reasons given by Briggs for exclusion, was not feeling engaged in the learning and not being listened to, and although many of the forty did not feel these were so relevant, Subjects 18, 5 and 13 all felt these reasons relevant.

The final reason given by the young people for their exclusion was not mentioned by Briggs, which was that the warnings of exclusion were not believed by the young people or taken seriously. When they explained that they had often been threatened with permanent exclusion on multiple occasions this seemed rationale, and another good example of schools threatening a disciplinary intervention rather than actually carrying it out. This is illustrated by the

comments of Subject 28 who stated in a response to a question about why he had not altered his behaviour to remain in a school admitted he liked:

“I had thirteen fixed term exclusions, and they were usually followed by a warning of permanent exclusion but I never thought I would actually get kicked out”

When questioned further he said he had received no final warning and getting excluded for a fixed term had just become normal, so getting permanently excluded came as a big shock. Their reluctance to act on the apparently overt threats of permanent exclusion is perhaps understandable. For some young people this may not have been the first time threats were made and not carried through. As was described earlier parents also often fail to ‘carry through’ with an intervention such as phone confiscation and grounding and so ‘learned behaviour’ could be an explanation of why they fail to ‘heed the warnings’ that may appear obvious to others.

8.7.12 Why the excluded pupils behave better when in the PRU: Having been excluded for persistently poor behaviour or perhaps for a ‘one off’ incident, the majority of the excluded pupils behaved much better whilst attending the PRU. The obvious question to ask these young people was why their behaviour improved in this environment. One of the major reasons as described by Subject 23 and others was simply that the pupils were happier in this school and so behaved better. The common factors mentioned by the young people were smaller class sizes as indicated by Subjects 14, 26 and 36 who said:

“The PRU is much better due to the smaller class sizes and the number of teachers and teaching assistants”

Class sizes are often under ten, and a teaching assistant is often present to help the teacher. Having more time to listen and generally being friendlier towards the young people was another theme as mentioned by Subjects 19, 24, 25 and 36 who said or something very similar:

“I prefer the PRU and my behaviour is better as the classes are smaller and the teachers have more time to help you”

Although most preferred the PRU, they all said that it was also a strict place with set rules, and if you messed with the Deputy Head teacher he would ‘sort you out’. However the majority seemed to like this discipline and accept punishments if they did something wrong. The pupils at the PRU were aware they behaved better in ‘the unit’ and were generally aware of positive and negative influences on them as described in the section below.

8.8 How much young people felt influenced by Parents, Friends and School

The young people in the PRU were aware of the peer pressure their school colleagues and friends could have on their behaviour but most stated although aware of it, they did not feel particularly influenced by it. The young people in the schools were asked the same questions and the results of who they thought influenced their behaviour the most showed that just over two thirds of young people thought their parents influenced their behaviour in a positive way, which reduced by ten percent for school and a further ten percent for their friends. In terms of influencing behaviour in a negative way only fifteen percent thought parents did this which rose by ten percent for schools and again approximately a further ten percent for friends, so that over a third of young people thought their friends influenced their behaviour in a ‘bad’ way. This is supported by the cross tabulation analysis seen below which suggests friends committing crime has a very strong influence on pupils also engaging in such activity. In year nine, thirty three percent of all students had a friend who had done something criminal, but as is shown in table 27 on the page below, this rises to seventy nine percent for those who had done something criminal themselves, and for year eight the figures are very similar. In terms of gender difference in year nine males are more influenced than females, but this did not apply to year eight pupils. The question did not ask if the person had committed the criminal offence on their own or with a friend, and this could be one explanation for the rise in this figure, although the qualitative analysis does not support this.

Table 27:- Influence of friends on criminal behaviour

Fairfield Schools (Crosstab (n=457, n*=65))				Have you ever done anything criminal		Total
				Yes	No	
School 1	Have your friends ever done anything criminal	Count		16	38	54
		Yes % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	72.7%	23.0%	28.9%
		No % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	27.3%	77.0%	71.1%
	Total	Count		22	165	187
		% within	Have you ever done anything criminal	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Count		16	13	29
School 2	Have your friends ever done anything criminal	Yes % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	94.1%	16.3%	29.9%
		No % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	5.9%	83.8%	70.1%
		Count		1	67	68
	Total	Count		17	80	97
		% within	Have you ever done anything criminal	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Count		47	20	67
School 3	Have your friends ever done anything criminal	Yes % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	75.8%	18.0%	38.7%
		No % within	Have you ever done anything criminal	24.2%	82.0%	61.3%
		Count		15	91	106
	Total	Count		62	111	173
		% within	Have you ever done anything criminal	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Count		79	71	150
Total	Have your friends ever done	Yes	Count			

anything criminal	% within Have you ever	78.2%	19.9%	32.8%
	done anything criminal			
No	Count	22	285	307
	% within Have you ever	21.8%	80.1%	67.2%
Total	done anything criminal			
	Count	101	356	457
	% within Have you ever	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	done anything criminal			

Table 28: Chi-Square Tests

Fairfield Schools		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
School 1	Pearson Chi-Square	23.343 ^c	1	.000		
	Continuity Correction ^b	20.986	1	.000		
	Likelihood Ratio	20.928	1	.000		
	Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	23.218	1	.000		
	N of Valid Cases	187				
School 2	Pearson Chi-Square	40.562 ^d	1	.000		
	Continuity Correction ^b	36.932	1	.000		
	Likelihood Ratio	39.725	1	.000		
	Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	40.144	1	.000		
	N of Valid Cases	97				
School 3	Pearson Chi-Square	55.984 ^e	1	.000		
	Continuity Correction ^b	53.575	1	.000		
	Likelihood Ratio	57.642	1	.000		
	Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	55.660	1	.000		
	N of Valid Cases	173				
Total	Pearson Chi-Square	121.173 ^a	1	.000		
	Continuity Correction ^b	118.545	1	.000		
	Likelihood Ratio	116.878	1	.000		
	Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	120.908	1	.000		
	N of Valid Cases	457				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 33.15.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

- c. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.35.
- d. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.08.
- e. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 24.01.

These tests show that, controlling for school, we have evidence of an association between criminal behaviour and friends being involved in crime (all have p-value close to zero).

8.9 What young people feels work to influence behaviour

Much of this chapter has dealt with what statistically appears relevant in terms of their behaviour, especially as administered by parents and schools. This next section will look at other interventions to see what young people felt about them.

8.9.1 Taking part in leisure activities: As was discussed earlier taking part in recreation and sport is a main tenant of ‘the authorities’ attempts to prevent and divert young people from criminal and poor behaviour. Two examples in London are ‘Met Track’ and ‘Kickz’, which try to involve young people in athletics and football in an attempt to prevent them committing crime or ASB. On the face of it the thesis may suggest support for this view. In year seven sixty five percent of young people said they took part in two hours of leisure activities per week outside of school but this reduces in year eight and is less than half by year nine at forty seven percent. This corresponds with a rise in offending from year seven up to year nine as participation in activities decreases.

However there was no correlation shown with taking part in leisure activities and not being involved in crime or ASB. No such correlation also existed between poor behaviour in school and taking part in leisure activities in either year group, and this largely also applied to taking part in risky behaviours.

When asked why they don’t take part in such activities the responses of ‘rather hang with my friends’, ‘can’t be bothered’ and ‘nothing to do’ all received twenty five percent support, which was fairly consistent over the three years. As with the figures for previous research carried out by the author, parents taking part in such activities increases the participation of young people, especially females. The general figure of forty seven percent participation rose to seventy percent if parents were also involved in leisure activities for year nine pupils, and very similar percentages were shown for the two previous years. There is a similar positive

correlation between friends taking part in leisure and young people taking part, with this being stronger for females in year nine but not in year eight.

For the young people interviewed, in terms of starting an activity nearly all said that their parents neither encouraged nor discouraged their participation in activities, although Subject 8 appeared to support the view parent participation is important when she stated that:

“The whole family are lazy and overweight so don’t do activities, so I didn’t either”

The figures for those taking part in leisure activities were only slightly less for the young people in the PRU, compared to those for young people questioned at school, and there was little support for the view that taking part in activities prevents offending and behaviour. When people were questioned in more detail on this, the comments were that they would take part in an activity then ‘go do a robbery’, so it made no difference. Subject 2 pointed out:

“I did lots of leisure activities, which didn’t stop me getting into loads of trouble”

Other young people interviewed also did not correlate leisure activities with not offending. Subject 6 did six hours of judo every week but was one of the most prolific offenders spoken to, together with subject 9 who did boxing, Subject 11 who did a lot of both music and sport and Subjects 18, 22 and 26 who all played football on a regular basis. Despite this lack of evidence for success from the mouths of young people it is interesting that the original ‘Kickz’ scheme which stopped in Fairfield was in the early part of 2014 re-introduced by the Metropolitan Police under the new name of ‘Kicks’.

As was described above a greater proportion of young people took part in activities in year seven than in year eight and nine where it reduced further. In terms of why people stopped doing activities, there were a variety of answers. Firstly some of the young people said they were happy to do activities at school, but stopped when they left such as Subject 5 or sometimes the influence of their friends had an impact as pointed out by Subject 20 who stated she stopped athletics because her friends didn’t do it. There was another reason which possibly needs to be considered in multi-cultural areas which is one of language as Subject 38 stated:

“I used to go to dance group but the dynamic of the group changed, so I stopped going”

When questioned further about this, the subject stated that there was a large influx of new recruits to the group of one racial background, which she found affected the atmosphere. The subject who was non-white said it was not a racial issue more a social one as the new people all tended to chat to only each other, often in their own language which no-one else including herself could understand.

Some young people said that they would not go to certain activities and locations because they were scared of some of the other young people who might be present. This is supported by previous academic research where it is suggested adult supervised activities are the most effective. As Subject 4 mentioned:

“Youth clubs were ok, but they were full of gang members so I didn’t usually go there”

The statutory bodies are very keen to ensure gang members and associates attend activities rather than be ‘on the streets’ committing crime, so it is ironic their presence reduces the chances of other young people using the facility. The author is aware that this position is current in Fairfield where the main youth centre is attended by several young people believed to be in or associate with the main gang in that area. In terms of behaviour, sometimes the poor behaviour itself meant that the young person was no longer able to access facilities, or had reduced their own life chances such as Subject 13 who said he had been good at football and had been ‘on the books’ of Tottenham Hotspur as a junior, but had been asked to leave due to his behaviour.

8.9.2 Getting caught as a deterrent: One of the other major tenants of the police and statutory bodies is that getting caught for criminal and anti-social behaviour is a very good deterrent, but again this is not what young people say. On pure numbers of those young people who admitted committing an offence, only about a third admitted to getting caught, with the figure reducing slightly from thirty three percent in year eight to thirty one percent in year nine. Over the three years this figure has seen little variation with the figure again being thirty three percent in the initial year of the survey.

As previously stated at the beginning of this chapter the young people from the PRU admitted to committing far more offences, with eighty percent admitting an offence. They gave a variety of answers as to why they stopped, but no-one stated it was as a result of being

caught. However, four people did say it was because they were scared of the consequences of being caught, or not wanting to upset their parents if they were arrested.

Young people are aware of the influence their friends can have on them and whilst acknowledging this, generally felt that their poor behaviour was not as a result of those friendships. The overwhelming majority said that they made the decision about what to do as indicated by Subjects 7 and 36 who stated:

“I stopped offending partly by changing who I hung out with...but no-one influences me, I just decided to change” and “I stopped committing crime as I decided it just wasn’t worth it...although some of my friends still commit crime”

After being caught the young person will be processed through the system but the general view was that the criminal justice system had not had any effect on them, but there were exceptions to this rule with Subject 30 being worried about getting a TAG if he got caught again. However, most thought getting caught and going through the criminal justice system had no real impact on them.

Some admitted continuing to offend, but said they had changed the reason they offended. One male stated he had matured and so had stopped being arrested for what he regarded as ‘madness’, but had also got better at not getting caught and so continued to offend for financial reasons. Subject 4 stated:

“I’m better behaved now, but also better at not getting caught.....it’s all about making money now, so I stopped getting into fights for stupid reasons”

8.9.3 Why young people said they stopped offending: It is suggested that being caught and so being involved in the criminal justice system is a good deterrent to crime, but for both year groups there is no correlation between being caught committing crime or ASB and continuing or not continuing to commit such acts. In terms of asking young people why they did stop committing crime, the three most significant answers were ‘I realised it was wrong’, ‘it just wasn’t worth it’, and ‘I just decided to stop’. Taken together they made up over sixty percent of the responses in year eight, rising slightly to sixty four percent in year nine as can be seen from table 29 below. From this it would appear that the majority of young people improve their behaviour through their own choices, and that therefore the majority of interventions

should be aimed at giving them the best chance of doing this, through improving their consequential thinking abilities. Several young people mentioned when asked at the conclusion of their interviews what would have worked replied ‘not much’ but several also said anything that makes them think about what they have done. As Subject 14 stated:

“the only thing that worked at school was a group where we looked at the consequences of our actions” and when asked if consequential thinking worked said *“yes”*.

Table 29: Why did you stop doing stuff that was criminal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I realised it was wrong	19	3.6	28.8	28.8
	I just decided to stop	15	2.9	22.7	51.5
	It wasn't worth it	8	1.5	12.1	63.6
	its addictive	2	.4	3.0	66.7
	Scared of being caught	5	1.0	7.6	74.2
	Don't know	4	.8	6.1	80.3
	Its fun	13	2.5	19.7	100.0
	Total	66	12.6	100.0	
Missing	N/A	373	71.5		
	missing	83	15.9		
	Total	456	87.4		
Total		522	100.0		

The above chapter details the findings and analysis of the data obtained during the course of this thesis. The final chapter will provide some conclusions to the thesis together with some recommendations that flow from them in order to try and ensure the changes the author feels are required in how we deal with the behaviour of young people in society actually happen.

Chapter 9 - Summary and Conclusions

9.1 *Introduction*

The aims of the research for this thesis set out to answer the following questions:

1. Is the perception of those in society of the behaviour of young people correct, and if not, why is this?
2. What are the current policies of the government to control behaviour, as well as those of schools and parents, and do they work?
3. Finally are the policies currently adopted by those three groups in society the same policies that young people think works to control their behaviour? And if not what conclusions and recommendations can be drawn?

As well as an examination of previous research and literature the main way this was achieved was by having a dialogue with a sample of young people whom the author suggests are representative of young people in general. The author would argue this is true for young people in Fairfield, London and other large cities, although accepts that such generalisations are weaker for other young people who may have different circumstances in their lives. It examined what factors are associated with risky, anti-social and criminal behaviour. What interventions are used by schools and parents to improve the behaviour of young people and which methods do young people feel are successful?

9.2 *Perceptions of the behaviour of young people*

In order to establish if the perception of behaviour was correct, the level of behaviour and offending needed to be clarified. Although most would agree crime has fallen in England and Wales, and in deed generally across the world in recent years, as was described in the first chapter there are doubts about official crime figures in England and Wales with even the Government's own Office of National Statistics displaying a degree of scepticism. Levels of incarceration are also not an accurate measure of behaviour, as a recent report showed that black and Asian defendants are almost twenty per cent more likely to be sent to jail than those who are white, which does not match the self-reported offending and behaviour figures for ethnicity from this thesis. At the same time, the average prison sentence given to Caucasian criminals by courts in England and Wales is seven months shorter than those given to Afro-Caribbean offenders (Wright, 2013). Through the brief discussion in the thesis about the varying levels of age of criminal responsibility across Europe it can be seen that it is not

the act itself which is criminal, as what might be deemed criminal in one country is not a crime in another. So if neither crime or incarceration figures accurately reflect young people's behaviour, a more accurate method may be to just ask them.

According to the young people of Fairfield twenty two percent of them from year nine, and therefore thirteen and fourteen years old, admitted to committing a criminal offence in the last year. This figure is similar to other surveys completed related to self-reported offending of young people in several previous years which generally put the level of offending consistently in the region of twenty five percent. Of the twenty two percent who had offended just under a third were still offending. This means that approximately seven percent of the young people surveyed were actually still committing offences when the information was collected. The figures for anti-social behaviour were slightly higher in that a quarter had committed ASB and half were still behaving in such a way, meaning about thirteen percent were still behaving in an anti-social manner at that snap shot in time. So the percentage of young people in Fairfield involved in crime and ASB is low, and these figures appear consistent with previous surveys over several years, leading to the conclusion that crime and behaviour involving young people is not and has never really been 'out of control' or a 'in crisis' as suggested by both media and government.

In terms of being involved in behaviours perceived as risky, and certainly according to the thesis associated statistically with higher rates of offending, the percentage of young people who indulged in such behaviours was generally between nine and thirteen percent, except for alcohol which was much higher. But for all the behaviours, even alcohol, the number of times people had taken drugs or had carried a weapon was generally only on a few occasions during the year. From the analysis it does appear that being involved in risky behaviours is statistically linked to being involved in crime and ASB, with the likelihood of being involved in crime being between two and four times as great if also involved with risky behaviours. Those on the prison visit who had previously offended certainly displayed a very strong association with being involved with many perceived risky behaviours, so it is likely that those offending and those involved in risky behaviours are many of the same young people. But the actual percentage of young people involved in this behaviour is low, and certainly much lower than the negative amount of publicity concerning young people would warrant.

Despite the doubt about the accuracy of the figures, it would appear from all current tools of measurement used that crime in England and Wales is falling in most categories. This was indicated by recent crime figures released in January 2014 which showed in London overall crime was down by more than ten percent, although in Fairfield this figure was less than two percent, and interestingly the figures displayed did not show youth crime (Metropolitan Police 2014). These figures are supported by the latest CSEW released at the end of April 2014 showing crime down fifteen percent (ONS 2014, p1)

Yet despite these positive crime figures, and the contribution of the young people stating only a relatively small percentage are involved in behaviour considered criminal or anti-social, the public's perception of crime is that it is rising. In a recent survey in January 2014 carried out by Crimestoppers, over sixty percent of participants thought youth crime, on-line crime and domestic violence were rising and were the crimes they were most concerned about (Crimestoppers 2014). This again shows the possible unreliability of crime figures, as neither youth crime nor computer crimes were included in the figures recently released which detailed the falling crime rate. That said, the figures falling does not match the impression of the public, leading to the question, why is there a dis-connect between the figures and the feelings? As was discussed this could be due to the media portrayal of youth crime not being accurate, with examples such as the 2004 MORI poll showing only fourteen percent of stories about young people were positive and Sprott's study from 2010 showing stories about violence in the media vastly over representing actual cases in the youth court. The difference between how the UK media and others deal with youth crime was illustrated in how the 'Bulger' case in England and the 'Redergard' case in Norway were reported by each countries media.

This unrealistic fear of crime on the street can lead to some self-fulfilling prophecies, as young people also feel threatened by other young people, and feel that the police and other adults cannot protect them. The consequence as indicated in previous research and strongly supported by the results of this thesis, is that when young people carry weapons and knives it is generally to 'protect themselves'. This was supported by a Panorama programme for the BBC on knife crime where Rahael Rowe interviewed five young men all in prison for a murder committed with a knife. All said they had the knife with them for protection but when a fight started in a split second they had used it and killed someone. This fear of crime and

other young people resulting in the carrying of weapons sadly leads to some tragic consequences, which are sensationalised by the media, and so the circle is complete.

The author would conclude therefore that it is fair to say that the public's fear of youth crime and behaviour does not match reality, of either previous research on offending and behaviour or that of the young people in Fairfield. The perception is often too high and that this has a real impact on young people's lives within the community, but it is unlikely the media will stop reporting predominantly bad news about young people. As research shows, people both like to read about crime and also prefer to read about bad news, so bad news really does sell more (Robinson 2007).

This and several previous governments have been aware of the figures concerning young people and crime for many years. As was stated by UNICEF in its report in 2007 a true measure of a nation's standing is how well it attends to its children: their health and safety, their material security and their education and socialisation. As was discussed during the thesis far more young people are killed and injured on the road as a result of traffic incidents than street violence. Far more young people are killed and injured by parents, family members and those known to them than by other young people in street violence. Despite this the government emphasis remains on young people's behaviour and attempts to control it e.g. maximum sentences for possession of a knife. The author would suggest this can be for no other reason than politics and is unlikely to change and therefore any attempt to change government priorities or control the media would appear futile, so an alternative solution to improve the situation is needed.

One solution suggested by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) supports one of the main tenants of this thesis, i.e. hearing young people's voices, rather than speaking on their behalf. Young people need to get involved in all stages of activities designed to improve their profile and public image and be given opportunities to be part of the solution to crime. It is also important to allow them the chance to respond directly to the negativity often levelled at them in the media and at public meetings. NFER suggests intergenerational activities can be highly successful. They specifically bring together younger and older people, who can have a particularly negative view, and provide opportunities to learn from each other and to challenge stereotypical views and misconceptions (NCER 2010).

The author suggests in order to counteract this negative perception and fear of young people, especially by each other, there needs to be a concentrated effort to educate young people about how their world is not as dangerous as they think it is, as evidenced by the low percentage of young people involved in poor or risky behaviour, carrying weapons and general criminality. This is traditionally an area that the youth service would provide courses and interventions, and Fairfield is reasonably well served with four youth centres run by the local authority and two run by independent charities. However cut backs to funding is effecting the number of permanent staff available to run such courses. Even before these cutbacks the author is aware having spoken to youth service managers that the number of young people attending the youth centres is a maximum of two hundred a day, but often less, which is a very small percentage of the youth population of Fairfield. This problem of failing to deliver interventions to a sufficient percentage of young people would be solved by a universal intervention delivered to all young people, and the details of how this could be achieved through an improved and mandatory personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) programme in schools is detailed in section below. Having spoken to professionals from other London boroughs the author is also clear that the problem of funding and lack of services for young people is common across London, and therefore the suggested solution is required by all and could be delivered in all London or national Borough.

9.3 The requirement for a universal intervention

At this current time the only universal intervention given to young people is in schools dealing with issues involving PSHE. On paper the government supports the teaching of PSHE in schools and indeed the Schools White Paper (2010) sets out clearly the plans in relation to PSHE and sex and relationship education (SRE) within the curriculum. It states:

“Children can benefit enormously from high-quality Personal Social Health and Economic education. Good PSHE supports individual young people to make safe and informed choices. It can help tackle public health issues such as substance misuse and support young people with the financial decisions they must make. We will conduct an internal review to determine how we can support schools to improve the quality of all PSHE teaching, including giving teachers the flexibility to use their judgement about how best to deliver PSHE education.”

However although inspected by Ofsted, it is a non-statutory subject, leaving schools free to deliver whatever standard of lesson they consider appropriate. There is also the issue of Academies and Free schools having different rules and so for example not being required to teach SRE. The schools in Fairfield certainly have different priorities to each other for PSHE and the danger is that in an effort to improve academic grades schools do not give this area sufficient priority. The author is aware of one Secondary school in Fairfield where the head teacher refused to have any drug or knife crime interventions in the school, despite being offered for free, as 'the pupils weren't that type and didn't need such lessons'. This was despite the author being aware having spoken to several of the schools pupils of issues of drug and alcohol consumption, weapon carrying for gang members and fighting, including one year eleven girl who stated she was 'off her face' in class quite often.

This government has removed the duty on schools and colleges to cooperate with Children's Trusts and abolished the requirement for local authorities to produce a Children and Young People's Plan. Instead, the Government leave schools and local authorities to make decisions for themselves in all of these areas. This has not worked with as already stated very large variations with what schools teach. The results of this were seen in the thesis where the knowledge of the pupils about areas of risk such as substance consumption or weapon carrying was far from perfect, with at least thirty percent consistently over the three years not feeling they had sufficient knowledge to make the right decision in these areas.

The current under performance of schools concerning the teaching of PSHE in schools was noted in the body of this report and recently by the governments own inspection team in the latest OFSTED report on this area in 2013, which was based on data obtained in the first six months of 2012. It noted in general that in thirty eight percent of secondary schools the teaching of PSHE was at the level of requires improvement or inadequate. In just under half of schools, pupils had received lessons about staying safe but few had developed the skills to effectively apply their understanding, such as the assertiveness skills to stand up for themselves and negotiate their way through difficult situations. Too many teachers lacked expertise in teaching sensitive and controversial issues, which resulted in some topics such as sexuality, mental health and domestic violence being omitted from the curriculum. This was because subject-specific training and support were too often inadequate. In twenty percent of schools, staff had received little or no training to teach PSHE education, and teaching was not

good in any of these schools. As the Chair of a board of school governors the author is aware this would not be acceptable in any other subject, and would require immediate emergency interventions.

By far the weakest aspect of teaching was the assessment of pupils' learning which was often less robust for PSHE education than for other subjects. In too many schools, teachers did not check or build on pupils' previous knowledge which resulted in them repeating topics, and they had lower expectations of the quality of pupils' work in PSHE education than for the same pupils in other subjects. Where the curriculum was strong it built on pupils' previous knowledge both in PSHE education lessons and in other subjects. The curriculum was usually more coherent and comprehensive in schools that offered specific PSHE education lessons across the school. Where secondary schools taught PSHE education mainly through other subjects, students' knowledge and understanding in years ten and eleven depended largely on their GCSE option choices (Ofsted 2013, p1-2).

The recommendation of this thesis is therefore that PSHE be included as a statutory subject to be taught in all schools in England and Wales. Not as something to be weaved within the existing curriculum but as a stand-alone subject to be tested and inspected. The current existing subject areas could be maintained but expanded to include within health and relationships topics such as conflict resolution, gang membership, weapon carrying, mindfulness and respect for each other, and ways to further improve cogitative thinking. All these areas will prevent young people making wrong decisions in terms of behaviour. As incidents in Paris and Ankara have recently demonstrated lessons to teach young people respect for different ethnic heritage and religious belief should also be an essential part of the PSHE curriculum.

Having been taught about these subjects there will be more opportunity to learn about each other and the community they live in, resulting in a more positive opinion of themselves and other young people. In turn this will reduce the fear of each other, and the perceived necessity to carry a knife or a weapon to protect themselves.

9.4 Effectiveness of current policies to improve behaviour

The second two questions asked what are the current government policies, strategies and interventions and are they working, together with those adopted by schools and parents and also what do young people feel works to improve their behaviour. Regardless of how effective a targeted intervention is it can only be given if the offender is apprehended and a major reason the author would argue that the criminal justice system is not working at its optimum level is that the majority of offenders do not get caught as evidenced by the young people spoken to in this thesis who stated they did not get caught for the majority of offences they commit. One in three offences for those offenders in the quantitative study, one in five for those in the PRU, and considerably less than this for those who had committed several offences. From speaking to offenders in the PRU it was also clear that being caught for offending played no part in their decision making when it came to further offending.

This figure of being caught for one third of offences in the quantitative study was consistent across the three years of the research and so even if the interventions currently used by the system were effective they would at best be reaching only one third of the offenders. Therefore a system based largely on targeted intervention is doomed to be ineffective and needs to be supported by a universal system of interventions as suggested in the previous section in order to deal with all offenders.

The above suggestion would deal with universal education about issues of personal safety and prevention of offending, together with the fear of crime but the author is aware from experience that good preventative interventions do not always prevent young people committing offences. There will always be a need for more specific interventions to deal with offending and behaviour but it is apparent that the ‘authorities’ are still not clear on what interventions work. This has been an issue over many years as shown in the body of the report and indicated more recently by the Justice Committee for Parliament in 2013 who noted the YJB’s lack of clarity on this issue, and from a MoJ analytical report in December 2013 which noted there was no evidence of the effectiveness of current YOS programmes and packages (MoJ 2013 (c), p3).

The author would argue that in fact there is much evidence already in existence that current laws and policies are at best, less effective than they could be. As was discussed in the chapter on this issue the basic premise of current government policy is that people, including young people, make a free choice to commit crime. Having spoken to schools, parents and young people, this also appears to be the position of schools and parents in terms of behaviour. Therefore policies to stop offending and behaviour considered in breach of school and home rules are largely based on reducing the motivation of the young person to offend, usually through harsh sentencing and imprisonment in the case of offenders, or the removal of privileges in school and the home.

The author's view, supported by evidence from this thesis, is that young people generally make their own decisions to stop offending having decided its 'just not worth it', but agrees with Eadie and Canton that offending is associated with numerous social and psychological influences, and that any purposeful attempt to address offending behaviour must take account of those influences, and the reality of the young peoples lived experiences. Interestingly this is also the conclusion of several reports of the Home Office and Ministry of Justice in 1996, 2005 and 2010 which mention dealing with the circumstances and conditions of young person lives. More recently it was acknowledged in a MoJ analytical report in December 2013 which noted there was a need to address lifestyle issues to address re-offending, and that an intervention should be delivered in a way which accounts for factors that may affect the young person's ability to respond to the intervention. (MoJ 2013 (c), p3). However current law and policy do not reflect these sentiments and it is unclear if is this for political or philosophical and theoretical reasons, although the author would suggest the former.

The government would almost certainly answer the latter and may argue that its current policies are working as although the reliability of figures will continue to be doubted, current offending and re-offending figures in England and Wales show a continued reduction. The latest figures released by the Ministry of Justice in January 2015 for the year 2012/13 show that arrests are down twenty four percent on the previous year, with the number of provable offences down by eight percent, and a reduction in first time entrants to the criminal justice system of twenty percent. The number of young people held in custody has reduced by twenty one percent. However the figures for re-offending are not so positive with a slight rise in both the percentage of young people who re-offend and the number of offences they commit (MoJ 2015). But crime is generally down across the Western world including in

countries such as Germany and Netherlands who have less punitive criminal justice systems, and New York has seen a reduction in its prison population by a quarter in the last fifteen years but crime continues to fall. So the author would argue that even if the figures are an indication crime is reducing and behaviour improving, the information provided by the young people in this thesis is that this is despite the current system as opposed to because of it.

One condition in the lives of young people that is not currently considered is maturity and the author would argue that this is a second general reason why the current system does not work as effectively as it should. With its current age of criminal responsibility being set at ten years of age, England and Wales has one of the lowest in the world and below even the guidelines set by the United Nations. There are many different versions of criminal justice systems used in the world where maturity is taken much more into consideration in determining behaviour and criminal responsibility, the author would argue that both the German system and the Canadian system are good examples of this. Therefore the age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales should be re-examined in detail, and take account of the young person's abilities. A quick and effective change in this area would be the re-introduction of the 'doli-incapax' rule to cover ten to fourteen year olds, a change supported by the Law Lords and the Parliamentary Commission on Families.

A third reason the system is not currently as effective as it could be which is supported by both previous research and the information and analysis of this thesis, is that the current does not consider the social and psychological influences in young people's lives, and the part that plays in their decision making process. Poverty would be the first of those conditions statistically linked to poorer outcomes for behaviour with a stronger prevalence of conduct disorders for less affluent young people together with poorer mental and physical health outcomes. Young adult offenders are three times more likely to have mental health issues than those that do not offend, and up to fifteen percent of those from the poorest backgrounds suffer mental health issues compared to five percent from other more affluent backgrounds. There are other negative links to poverty concerning behaviour and Fairfield, and especially the East side of the borough suffers considerable deprivation.

However previous schemes to effect behaviour, such as that ran by the Violence Reduction Unit in Scotland and the Manchester Multi Agency Gangs Scheme have both concluded that

attempting to deal with the major socio-economic issues in the community is a very difficult if not impossible task. They recommend having more achievable aims and this was supported by the Smith Institute in a report in 2008 which advised on focussing on a smaller number of achievable interventions in order to elicit change. Crucially in light of what the thesis has been examining the Smith Institute stated these interventions should always include those that simultaneously target the home, school and community and those influences and how young people feel that any interventions should be applied will be examined below.

Influences in the home: As concerns influences in young people's lives in the home the first would be family make-up. Family make-up has been statistically linked to poor behaviour by previous research such as that by Wells and Rankin and the Cambridge study with single parents and families with step parents having the strongest links. This was also supported by self-reporting data from the YLS. The thesis supports this link between family make-up and delinquency and crime and also more recent research linking criminal behaviour to young people being raised in houses with mothers and step fathers. In year nine twenty two percent had been involved in a criminal act in the last year but this almost doubles for those living with their mother and step-father, with very similar figures for year eight, and also for a doubling of the likelihood of being involved in ASB

A second influence would be both parental and sibling imprisonment. Parental imprisonment has academic support in terms of affecting young people's behaviour and statistical relevance to criminal and anti-social behaviour. Although the 'n' figure from this thesis was only twenty nine, and the result should therefore be treated with caution, this was strongly supported by this thesis. It was shown to have one of the strongest statistical links with the figure for committing a criminal offence within the last year rising from twenty two percent to fifty one percent for young people whose parent had been imprisoned in year nine. This link was even stronger link in year eight where they were three times as likely to have committed an offence, although in both years the correlation with involvement in risky behaviours was not as pronounced. There is also previous academic support for sibling imprisonment having a negative effect and again this was supported by this thesis, although the link was not as strong. In year nine those with an imprisoned sibling were twice as likely to have committed an offence and in year eight this rose to almost three times as likely. Having spoken to 'professionals' the author is aware one issue with these imprisonments is

that they are often ‘invisible’ to those trying to assist families, such as local authorities and schools, so they are unaware a parent or sibling are in prison. Although labelling is highlighted by the young people within the thesis and may be an issue here, improved identification is needed if action is to be taken.

Interventions in the home: When parents are present it is very clear that their interventions are often ineffective. The majority of young people admitted to doing something wrong at some time in the home. However in terms of positive influence young people acknowledge that between parents, school and friends, parents are the strongest positive influence. What was also clear was that the effectiveness of parental influence by their application of interventions is often undermined by weak or inconsistent application of those interventions, with the vast majority of PRU pupils feeling their parents had little influence on their behaviour. As previous research notes the influence of parents diminishes as the child gets older, as demonstrated by Hoeve et.al.’s meta-analysis in 2009. This was supported by the thesis findings which noted that although the use of each intervention was broadly comparable with year eight the effectiveness in all but the least used intervention was less than the previous year, with four interventions being more than ten percent less effective. The author would suggest this again supports the previous recommendation that the teaching of PSHE in schools is crucial if young people are to make more informed decisions.

Talking according to young people in year nine was the most effective intervention by a significant margin, however, this makes the fact that just less than half the young people stated their parents had actually asked them what would work to positively affect their behaviour a missed opportunity for parents and subsequent improved behaviour by their children. Some interventions used by parents may actually increase poor and criminal behaviour as shouting at young people and using physical punishment were linked to increased poor behaviour. Therefore more training and support should be given to parents to ensure the most effective interventions are used in the home, which are those that rely on positive relationships and affirmation. Fairfield has started this process through its Parent Engagement Panel, but this is a voluntary service, and so more resources and effort need to be put into this area as depending on which previous research is believed the influence on young people of parenting is between eleven and thirty percent. The danger is that parenting classes and other preventative interventions will receive even less money as the government introduces further cuts to local authority budgets. This was highlighted by the Local

Government Association who thought that by 2020 only statutory services would be provided by local authority due to budget restraint.

Interventions in school: Although schools have been subject to some budget restraints the cutbacks mentioned above have not been as stringent as with the local authority and therefore although cost is still an issue, the choice of intervention is usually based on its efficiency. Unlike parental interventions apart from one all were administered more to year nine pupils than to year eight, possibly indicating behaviour in this year is worse. Speaking to the teachers responsible for pastoral care in all three schools, all stated that often year nine was a difficult year group, as they were now comfortable in the school, but generally did not have the pressure of exam courses. However similarly to parental intervention all apart from one were less effective in year nine as opposed to year eight, with both mentoring and internal exclusion seeing drop offs in efficacy of over twenty percent.

Just like parenting, in schools the general point about interventions not being effective due to weak and inconsistent application also applies. Examples of this are report cards not being completed and detentions not attended, both without any subsequent sanction. The message from the young people is very clear that the sanction needed to quickly follow the poor behaviour in order for them to associate the intervention with the behaviour, it needed to be something they didn't really like, and had to be administered in strict way with further sanction for failing to complete the intervention, especially in relation to detention and internal exclusion. The message to schools is therefore not to devise new interventions but make the current interventions work much better. This includes behavioural systems that do not label individuals and also ensuring those externally excluded receive work to complete whilst not in school or if permanently excluded that they are found alternative provision for education as quickly as possible and certainly within the current guidelines, which is rarely the case according to the young people.

Influences in the community: Being involved with risky behaviours such as weapon carrying, drug and alcohol use and gang membership does show a correlation with committing crime. Those admitting having consumed drugs were almost three times more likely to be involved in crime and ASB in year nine and this rises to six times more likely in year eight for ASB. The figures for gang membership, and carrying a weapon or knife also

indicate an increased rate of criminality of between two and three times as great for those involved. Again these influences could be reduced and a protective measure added by an effective mandatory PSHE programme in all schools and therefore reaching all young people.

Interventions in the community: These are generally carried out within the criminal justice system. The re-offending figures for those released from prison give a strong indication that it does not work to alter behaviour, and therefore being sentenced to prison is an added risk factor for further offending. According to the Ministry of Justice own figures in 2012 only three percent of offences brought to justice for young people result in a custodial sentence yet thirty eight percent of the youth justice system budget is spend on incarceration. The current system could be improved by far more money being spent on the use of processes that do not involve prison such as triage, restorative justice, and better training for YOS and other staff in the system to identify issues in young people's lives that may lead to offending, many of which have been detailed above.

A much greater proportion of the budget should therefore be spent on early preventative interventions, education and treatment of those with issues that are capable of treatment. This early intervention could be in terms of age but also in terms of when an issue first presents itself. This holistic targeted approach should include a youth worker to look at their family circumstances and also to maintain contact whilst the young person is in prison to try and reduce re-offending, similar to the Canadian system. This could be managed from within the YOS, but will require a large injection of funding to make it work. Although this does risk labelling the young person and their family, the benefits for both them and the wider community are in the author's opinion worth that risk.

It is important to ensure the correct early interventions are used and recreation is commonly used at the moment but young people interviewed stated very strongly that such activities did not affect their behaviour. As one boy explained, he attended football then went and committed a robbery, so although there are other benefits to being involved in sport and leisure, effecting behaviour is not be one of them, and in terms of behavioural improvement therefore money spent in this area could be used far more effectively.

According to young people what does work to positively affect them is talking to them. But a very clear message was that the person delivering the message is far more important than the

message itself. Whilst acknowledging that they did have influences in their lives, such as parents and friends, the majority of young people interviewed were clear that they decided to alter their behaviour, regardless of what was said to them. However, they accepted that if it was the right person, having a mentor could be a very positive influence in their lives, and for year eight students this was the most significant intervention. An example of where the message was delivered by people the young people would listen to was prison visits. Although the academic research from America indicates such visits don't work, the clear indication from the young people involved in the Fairfield scheme was that the visits do work. This was due to the fact that the visits are not designed to scare the young people, but to make them think about their behaviour, and the consequences for themselves and others if they do not alter their patterns of behaviour. This is supported by much previous academic research such as the analysis of interventions completed by Lipsey and Wilson in 1998 and 2001 and the emphasis for interventions should therefore be on developing the cognitive ability of all young people, rather than punishment or leisure activities as a way of diversion.

In summary and as an answer to the title of this thesis, yes when it comes to behaviour it is time young people are both seen and heard. Improving their behaviour is about talking to them and listening to what they have to say. Two thirds of them stopped offending 'because they realised it was wrong', 'it just wasn't worth it' and 'I just decided to stop' i.e. they made the decision regardless of others. Getting young people to behave in a way that is more positive for them, their families and their communities is about ensuring that young people have both the facts and the mental capacity and ability to interpret those facts so they make more good decisions than bad decisions.

9.5 Recommendations

- That PSHE is adopted as a statutory subject in all schools in England and Wales from the academic year commencing September 2017.
- That maturity be taken far more into consideration in the criminal justice system in England and Wales and that the age of criminal responsibility is immediately reviewed. This could be done quickly and with minimal cost through the re-introduction of the doli-incapax rule.
- In the long term maturity should be considered as part of a Royal Commission looking at all elements of youth crime and behaviour, in all elements of life including

the home, school and community. It should include the opinions of young people and most importantly it should act on those opinions if England and Wales wants the best and fairest behavioural system in all the above mentioned elements of society.

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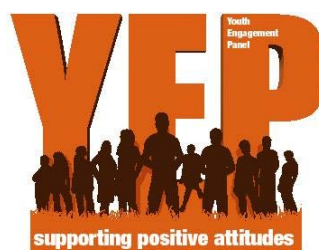
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Appendices

Appendix 1



History and Aims

The Youth Engagement Panel (YEP) was set up in 2008, after a spate of youth violence and murders that took place in and around Edmonton in the early part of the year. All of the victims and suspects in these cases were black, and the Police were aware that they struggled to engage with youth in general, but particularly with this group. They approached a group that represented young people from central Africa, specifically the Congo, and discussed their ideas, and partly due to the positive response from this community, and partly due to the necessary initial funding being obtained, the YEP emerged.

The panel consists of young people and adults aged over seventeen years of age of various nationalities who reside in the local community, many of whom have experienced the problems that life can throw up, such as criminality, pregnancy, housing problems, and unemployment. All of these young people have received training in youth work to NVQ 1 equivalent level, most of them being trained to level 2, and three of them now trained to level 3. They are also trained in other topics such as drugs, sex, conflict resolution and condom distribution, giving them over one hundred hours of training.

The management of the YEP has been by two groups, the strategic and operational groups. The strategic group initially consisted of a representative of most of the organisations who funded the project, which were Fairfield Children's Trust, Christian Action Housing, L&Q Housing, Metropolitan Housing, Fairfield Homes and the police. However when the group became a registered charity in 2010 the strategic group became the Board of Trustees. Due to financial constraints many of the original contributors have withdrawn and so the trustees were YEP members and adults from the community. However to ensure control always

remained with the young people, the chair of the board who has the casting vote will always be a young person.

The operational group consists of the two police managers who conceived the idea, although one is now retired, and the YEP members who are designated as team leaders, and it is this group that makes decisions effecting the direction of the YEP.

The YEP has three main aims the first of which is to engage with all young people who feel they are unable to talk to their elders or the police or any other person they see as being in authority regarding all manner of issues which they are effected by, issues such as crime, drug abuse, bullying, unemployment, gangs, teenage pregnancy, sexual health etc, all of which are having negative effects on young people as well as our wider communities. The job of the YEP members is to facilitate, support, listen and provide sound information and advice or signpost them to the correct organisation for further help with whatever issues they have, should they need to. The second aim is to enable the police and other partners to get a real feel for what it is like to be a young person in the borough. The trust that YEP members are able to generate with the young people ensures a much better response from them when trying to illicit such information. The third aim is to represent the young people of Fairfield in meetings, conferences and panels' across the borough raising awareness of the YEP, giving the young people a voice and informing decision making bodies of what it is like living as a young person in Fairfield. These groups have so far included the Community Independent Action Group, where a YEP member is now the deputy chair, the Fairfield Community Police Partnership, The Violent Offenders Report Group within the Youth Offending Service, the Youth Engagement Scrutiny Group and the Life Opportunities Commission of the Local Authority.

In order to achieve these aims the initial idea was to hold drop in sessions at three locations on a weekly basis. This was fairly quickly added to by holding bi-weekly sessions in a few secondary schools, although they have held assemblies in all 18 secondary schools, to inform people of the YEP's existence and explain what it is all about. They also appeared at various events and were able to provide workshops such as a fifty minute work shop at an anti-bullying conference, and workshops at a school on emotional wellbeing for a whole day, the success of which can be judged by the fact they were asked back the following year. They were also commissioned by the drugs and alcohol action team to canvas opinion on various

matters connected to drugs. A web site was launched, where all of the above and more is publicised, advice is available, together with an active blog to find out how the young people of Fairfeld really feel.

As the project has grown over eighty young people have been given the initial part one training, with about twenty five of them still actively engaged in the project. The initial idea of the drop in's was changed with the YEP members attending where young people were going to be, and advertising their locations on the web site. The YEP members have taken part in many workshops and attended many events during the five years of the project. At the start of the academic year 2013 the main work streams of the YEP are in the following areas:-

Education: The YEP works in Primary Schools delivering both transition and gang group work, as well as taking on some mentees from the gang work. In Secondary schools in delivers groups working primarily in the areas of 'Safer Choices' for girls and 'Conflict' and 'Gangs, Guns and Knives'. A separate ten week course run with pupils from various Secondary schools at risk of exclusion is called 'Fit4Life'. This is a mixture of activities and education and culminates in a weeklong visit to an activity centre in Scotland where both of these elements are more intensive.

Mentoring: The charity offers mentors to young people usually for an initial period of six months in order to try and ensure they are making the right decisions in life

Music Project: The music studio is very popular with young people, and is also used by other services who refer their young people to the charity such as the Fairfield Secondary Tuition Centre and the Youth Offending Service. Some of these young people obtain a music arts award equivalent to a GCSE.

NEET: We offer a service to young people who are not in education or employment to try and ensure they back into one or the other as quickly as possible. We currently have over 20 such young people being mentored in this way.

Gangs work: As well as the specific work in primary schools mentioned earlier we have a specific gangs co-ordinator who mentors young gang members and also helps organise and

run a quarterly 'Gangs Call In' to try and persuade young men that this is not a good lifestyle choice.

Outreach Patrols: YEP members combine with partners such as Street Pastors and local Police Officers to patrol areas at high risk of school pupil robberies. This has been very successful and contributed to a huge decrease in the number of such robberies in Fairfield.

The outcomes for the project have been positive with YEP members being able to advise and signpost many young people including young people who were pregnant, and gang members who wished to leave the gang. The life chances of the volunteers has also been improved due to the training and experience gained with one obtaining full time employment with the Youth Offending Service as a Youth Inclusion Support Panel worker, another full time employment with the Youth Support Service, and another as a full time drama teacher at a local school, with others obtaining college places to improve their chances in life. As a result of all of the above the project has been identified as good practice in terms of youth engagement by both the London wide police management, the MPA and the Home Office.

Appendix 2 - Year 7 Questionnaire

All the information provided by you will be anonymous and treated in confidence, so please **don't write your name anywhere on the questionnaire**. It will be used to study behaviour in order to provide better and more relevant activities to help you and other young people on the Borough. You don't give your name, but other information, which may seem personal, is needed to ensure the information given is not effected by other things in your life.

School AYLWARD ACADEMY

School Year 7

Male ☐

Female ☐

Ethnicity *Please circle the one that you feel most describes you:-*

White

Black British

Black Afro-Caribbean

Black African

Turkish/Kurdish

Asian

Eastern European

Somalian

Other [please give details].....

Please circle what parents/guardians are in the family home:-

Father/Mother

Mother/Other Male

Father/Other Female

Mother on own

Father on own

Other please give details].....

How many brothers and sisters in the family home

How many bedrooms in your house/flat

1] Do you do leisure activities outside school Yes ☐ No ☐

2] Do your parents/carers do activities outside of their work Yes ☐ No ☐

3] Do your friends do activities outside school Yes ☐ No ☐

4] Do you know the difference between right and wrong Yes ☐ No ☐

5] Have you ever done anything wrong at home Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered NO to question 5 please now go straight to question 11, if you answered yes please continue.

6] What have your parents done to try and get you to behave and did it work.

Grounded you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Took away your phone Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Shouted at you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Talked to you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Stopped Pocket Money Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Hit you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Sent you to your Room Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Stopped you going to Clubs Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Other/What..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

7] Did your parents ever ask you what would have worked Yes ☐ No ☐
to improve your behaviour

8] Have you ever been in trouble at school Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered NO to question 8 please now go straight to question 10, if you answered yes please continue.

Please look at what schools do to persuade you to behave and say if they have done these to you and if they worked

Put you on Report Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you a Detention Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Shouted at you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Talked to you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Anger Management stuff Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you a Mentor Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Informed your parents Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you Internal Exclusion Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you External Exclusion Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

9] Did the school ever ask you what would have worked to improve your behaviour Yes ☐ No ☐

10] Have you ever done anything criminal Yes ☐ No ☐

11] Did you get caught Yes ☐ No ☐

12] Why did you Stop/Not stop doing things that were criminal.....
.....
.....

13] Have you ever done anything anti-social Yes ☐ No ☐

14] Did you get caught Yes ☐ No ☐

15] Why did you Stop/Not stop doing things that were anti social.....
.....
.....

16] Who organised any activity to help you behave Police ☐

Youth Service ☐ Youth Offending Service ☐ Other ☐

17] Did anyone ever ask you what would have worked to improve your behaviour Yes ☐ No ☐

18] Please circle if your **parents** influence your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good Bad Both Don't know

19] Please circle if your **friends** influence your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good

Bad

Both

Don't know

20] Please circle if being at *school* influences your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good

Bad

Both

Don't know

Please answer the next six questions by deciding if you know enough about the things mentioned to make the right decisions to keep you safe.

21] Do you feel you know enough about Illegal Drugs Yes ☐ No ☐

22] Do you feel you know enough about Guns Yes ☐ No ☐

23] Do you feel you know enough about Knives Yes ☐ No ☐

24] Do you feel you know enough about Alcohol Yes ☐ No ☐

25] Do you feel you know enough about Gangs Yes ☐ No ☐

26] Do you feel you know enough about Pregnancy Yes ☐ No ☐

The final questions are just to look at how many knives/weapons are really out on the street.

27] Have you ever carried a knife on the street Yes ☐ No ☐

28] If YES circle how often in the last year you carried a knife 1/2 3/4 more

29] Have you ever carried a weapon on the street Yes ☐ No ☐

30] If YES circle how often in the last year you carried a weapon 1/2 3/4 more

31] Have you actually seen anybody else carry a knife on street Yes ☐ No ☐

32] If YES circle how often in the last year you saw this

1/2 3/4 more

Appendix 3 - Year 8 Questionnaire

All the information provided by you will be anonymous and treated in confidence, so please **don't write your name anywhere on the questionnaire**. It will be used to study behaviour in order to provide better and more relevant activities to help you and other young people on the Borough. You don't give your name, but other information, which may seem personal, is needed to ensure the information given is not effected by other things in your life.

School

School Year

8

Male ☐

Female ☐

Ethnicity *Please circle the one that you feel most describes you:-*

White

Black British

Black Afro-Caribbean

Black African

Turkish/Kurdish

Asian

Eastern European

Somalian

Other [please give details].....

Please circle what parents/guardians are in the family home:-

Father/Mother

Mother/Other Male

Father/Other Female

Mother on own

Father on own

Other please give details].....

Do you get free school meals

Yes ☐ No ☐

Does either of your parents/carers work

Yes ☐ No ☐

Have your parents ever been to prison Yes ☐ No ☐

Have your brothers or sisters ever been to prison Yes ☐ No ☐

1] Do you do leisure activities outside school Yes ☐ No ☐

2] If you answered **NO** to doing activities, why is that.

Nothing to do Yes ☐ No ☐

Rather just hang with my friends Yes ☐ No ☐

Stuff I want to do is too expensive Yes ☐ No ☐

Just can't be bothered Yes ☐ No ☐

Other Yes ☐ No ☐

3] Do your parents/carers do activities outside of their work Yes ☐ No ☐

4] Do your friends do activities outside school Yes ☐ No ☐

5] What have your parents done to try and get you to behave and did it work.

Grounded you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Took away your phone Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Shouted at you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Talked to you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Stopped Pocket Money Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Hit you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Sent you to your Room Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Stopped you going to Clubs Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Other/What..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

6] Did your parents ever ask you what would have worked Yes ☐ No ☐
to improve your behaviour

7] Have you ever been in trouble at Primary School Yes ☐ No ☐
Secondary School Yes ☐ No ☐

If you have not been in trouble at Secondary school please now go straight to question 9, if you have been in trouble at secondary school please continue.

8] Please look at what schools do to persuade you to behave and say if they have done these to you and if they worked

Put you on Report Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you a Detention Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Shouted at you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Talked to you Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Anger Management stuff Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you a Mentor Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Informed your parents Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you Internal Exclusion Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

Gave you External Exclusion Yes ☐ No ☐ Did it work Yes ☐ No ☐

WHY did it work/not work.....

9] Have you ever done anything criminal Yes ☐ No ☐

IF YOU ANSWERED NO GO TO QUESTION 13

10] Did you get caught Yes ☐ No ☐

11] Do you still do stuff that is criminal Yes ☐ No ☐

12] Why did you Stop/Not stop doing things that were criminal.....
.....
.....

13] Have your friends ever done anything that was criminal Yes ☐ No ☐

14] Have you ever done anything anti-social Yes ☐ No ☐

IF YOU ANSWERED NO GO TO QUESTION 18

15] Did you get caught Yes ☐ No ☐

16] Do **you** still do stuff that is anti social Yes ☐ No ☐

17] Why did you Stop/Not stop doing things that were anti social.....
.....
.....

18] Have **your friends** ever done anything that was anti social Yes ☐ No ☐

19] Please say if your **parents** influence your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good ☐ Bad ☐ Both ☐ Don't know ☐

20] Please say if your **friends** influence your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good ☐ Bad ☐ Both ☐ Don't know ☐

21] Please say if being at **school** influences your behaviour in a good or bad way

Good ☐ Bad ☐ Both ☐ Don't know ☐

22] Do you feel you know enough about Illegal Drugs Yes ☐ No ☐

Have you ever taken illegal drugs Yes ☐ No ☐

If **YES** how often in the last year have you taken them 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

If **YES** please tick those you have tried

Cannabis Yes ☐ No ☐

Cocaine Yes ☐ No ☐

Heroin Yes ☐ No ☐

Speed Yes ☐ No ☐

Ecstasy Yes ☐ No ☐

Other Yes ☐ No ☐

23] Do you feel you know enough about Guns Yes ☐ No ☐

Have **YOU** ever carried a weapon on the street in the last year Yes ☐ No ☐

If **YES** how often in the last year have you carried a weapon 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

What type of weapon was it	Gun	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	BB Gun	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Baseball Bat	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Cosh	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Bottle	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Why did you carry the weapon	For Protection	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Because it's Cool	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To go to a Fight	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To commit crime	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

24] Have you seen **SOMEONE ELSE** with a weapon on the street. Yes ☐ No ☐

If **YES** how often in the last year have you seen this 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

What type of weapon was it	Gun	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	BB Gun	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Baseball Bat	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Cosh	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Bottle	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Why did they have the weapon	For Protection	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
------------------------------	----------------	--

Because it's Cool	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
To go to a Fight	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
To commit crime	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

25] Do you feel you know enough about Knives Yes ☐ No ☐

Have YOU ever carried a knife on the street Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES how often in the last year have you carried a knife 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

What type of knife was it	Kitchen Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Flick Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Lock Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Why did you carry the knife	For Protection	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Because it's Cool	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To go to a Fight	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To commit crime	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

26] Have you seen **SOMEONE ELSE** carry a knife on street Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES how often in the last year have you seen this 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

What type of knife was it	Kitchen Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Flick Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Lock Knife	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Don't know	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Why did they have the knife	For Protection	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Because it's Cool	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To go to a Fight	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	To commit crime	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Don't know	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

27] Do you feel you know enough about Alcohol Yes ☐ No ☐

Have you drank alcohol in the last year Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes was this with family or friends Family ☐ Friends ☐

If YES how often in the last year have you had a drink 1/2 ☐ 3/4 ☐ more ☐

What do you like to drink	Beer	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Wine	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Spirits	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Alcopops	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Have you been drunk in the last year Yes ☐ No ☐

26] Do you feel you know enough about Gangs Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you think you are in a gang Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES why did you join	Because its fun	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	For protection	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	They made me	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 4 - Canadian Youth Justice System

Increase the use of Extra Judicial measures: The YCJA contains provisions to increase the appropriate use of extrajudicial measures for less serious offences, including the following principles:

- Extrajudicial measures should be used in all cases where they would be adequate to hold the young person accountable.
- Extrajudicial measures are presumed to be adequate to hold first-time, non-violent offenders accountable.

The YCJA requires police officers to consider the use of extrajudicial measures before deciding to charge a young person. Police and prosecutors are specifically authorised to use various types of extrajudicial measures. The use of such diversionary measures, before resorting to charge, has led to a great decrease in charging. Under the previous legislation in 1999, sixty three percent of youths accused of a crime were charged and thirty seven percent were not charged. Under the YCJA in 2010, forty two percent of youths accused of a crime were charged and fifty eight percent were not charged. A similar system was trialled across England and Wales in seven areas called ‘triage’ but although anecdotally it was successful, it was not rolled out after the initial period. This was largely due to funding issues (Home Office 2012, Occasional Paper 106). In Fairfield a similar but less staff intensive and impactful scheme was trialled, but although results were promising, again due to lack of funds it was not rolled out as normal day to day practice.

Conferencing: Although conferences were held before the new Act, they were further encouraged by the new legislation. Under the legislation, a conference is defined as a group of people brought together to give advice to a police officer, judge, justice of the peace, prosecutor, provincial director or youth worker who is required to make a decision under the YCJA. A conference can be composed of a variety of people depending on the situation. It can include the parents of the young person, the victim, others who are familiar with the young person and his or her neighbourhood, and community agencies or professionals with a particular expertise that is needed for a decision. A conference can be a restorative mechanism that is focused on developing proposals for repairing the harm done to the victim of the young person’s offence. It

can also be a professional case conference in which professionals discuss how the young person's needs can best be met and how services in the community can be coordinated to assist the young person. In Northern Ireland Restorative Justice has been very successful over the last ten years and it is only now being slowly introduced into England and Wales.

Pre-Trial detention of Young People: Prior to the YCJA, there was considerable evidence that pre-trial detention was being over-used. In particular, large numbers of youths who were charged with relatively minor offences were being detained and youths were often detained on charges for which adults were not detained. In response to concerns that pre-trial detention was being over-used, the YCJA included changes, which after an amendment in 2012, stated that a young person could be detained only if the following criteria were met:

- the youth has been charged with a serious offence (an offence for which an adult would be liable to imprisonment for five years or more) or has a history of either outstanding charges or findings of guilt;
- one of the following grounds exists:
 - (i) there is a substantial likelihood that, if released, the youth will not appear in court when required;
 - (ii) detention is necessary for public protection, having regard to the circumstances, including whether there is a substantial likelihood that the young person will, if released, commit a serious offence; or
 - (iii) if the youth has been charged with a serious offence and neither (i) nor (ii) applies (i.e., detention is not necessary to ensure that the youth appears in court or to protect the public), but there are exceptional circumstances that justify detention as necessary to maintain confidence in the administration of justice; and releasing the youth with conditions would not be sufficient to address the court's concern about releasing the youth.

In England and Wales, as has previously been stated, more than half of the young people remanded into custody do not eventually receive a custodial sentence. There is no secure accommodation to detain young people overnight in Fairfield, so if kept in custody after charge, a young person would be detained in a police cell.

Youth Sentencing: Prior to the YCJA, Canada had one of the highest youth incarceration rates in the Western world. Youth sentences were not required to be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence committed, and custody was often imposed as a sentence in less serious cases. Under the YCJA, custody sentences are intended to be reserved primarily for violent offenders and serious repeat offenders. As passed by Parliament in 2002, the Act provided that a young person could not be sentenced to custody unless:

- the young person had committed a violent offence (interpreted as an offence in which the young person caused, attempted or threatened to cause bodily harm);
- the young person had failed to comply with non-custodial sentences;
- the young person had committed a serious indictable offence and had a history that indicated a pattern of findings of guilt; or
- in exceptional cases where the young person had committed an indictable offence and the aggravating circumstances of the offence were such that a sentence other than custody would have been inconsistent with the purpose and principles of sentencing.

Before the court can impose a custodial sentence, it must consider all reasonable alternatives to custody and determine that there is no reasonable alternative capable of holding the young person accountable in accordance with the purpose and principles of sentencing discussed within the Act. The new law also introduced a variety of sentencing options such as a reprimand, attendance order, or intensive support and supervision order, similar to the sentence used in England and Wales. Under this new legislation the incarceration rates have reduced by almost fifty percent.

Transferring young people to adult court: The YCJA eliminated the process of transferring young persons to adult court for what were considered more serious cases. Instead, the YCJA established a process whereby the youth court first determines whether or not the young person is guilty of the offence and then, under certain circumstances, the youth court may impose an adult sentence. Offences that can lead to an adult sentence are indictable offences committed when the youth was at least fourteen years old, for which an adult would be liable to imprisonment for more than two years. The YCJA, also included a presumption that youth fourteen or older found guilty of certain serious violent offences

would receive an adult sentence. In these circumstances, the onus was on the young person to convince the court that a youth sentence would be appropriate. This will often be based on the maturity of the young person, and their ability to understand what they had done.

Re-Integration back into society after incarceration: The YCJA includes many provisions to assist the young person's reintegration into the community. Underpinning the YCJA is the belief that young people can be rehabilitated and successfully reintegrated into the community. The focus of every custody sentence must be on reintegration and on measures aimed at assisting the young person not to re-offend, and to assist this the following are available:

Custody and Supervision in the Community: Under the YCJA, every period of custody is followed by a period of supervision and support in the community, as part of the young person's sentence. This includes custody and supervision orders, intensive rehabilitative custody and supervision orders, and youth sentences for murder. Judges must clearly state in open court the portion of the sentence to be served in custody and the portion to be served in the community. The YCJA contains a list of mandatory conditions that apply to all young persons under supervision in the community. Additional conditions can be imposed to support the young person and address his or her needs, as well as to manage risk.

Re-Integration plans and leaves: When a young person goes into custody, the YCJA requires that a youth worker work with the young person, to plan for his or her reintegration into the community. The reintegration plan identifies programs and activities aimed at maximising the young person's chances for successful reintegration into the community. When the young person is serving the community supervision portion of the sentence, the youth worker supervises the young person and provides support and assistance in order to help the young person respect conditions and implement the reintegration plan. In addition to community supervision and support after release from custody, a young person's rehabilitation and reintegration back into the community can be promoted prior to release from custody through reintegration leaves. A young person may be authorised to have a reintegration leave for medical, compassionate or humanitarian reasons. Leaves are for a period of up to thirty days, but the Provincial Director can renew them.

Publicity: A cornerstone of youth justice in Canada is that, as a general rule, the identity of a young person should be protected. The rationale for this rule is that publication of a young person's name would impede rehabilitation efforts, detrimentally affect the young person

and, in the long run, compromise public safety. Under the previous legislation the exception to this rule was if the young person was transferred to adult court, which would happen if they were accused of a serious offence. Under the YCJA, the general rule against publication of identifying information is maintained, with a similar exception where an adult sentence is imposed. However the YCJA also allows publication of identifying information where a youth sentence is imposed for a violent offence if the following requirements are met:

- The court must take into account the YCJA's general principles as well as the Act's specific purpose and principles of sentencing.
- The court must determine that the young person poses a significant risk of committing another violent offence and that publishing the identity of the young person is necessary to protect the public against that risk.

Needs of the Victim: Under the previous legislation there was criticism that the victim was not sufficiently involved in the criminal justice process. Under the YCJA, the interests and needs of victims are clearly recognised and the role of victims at different stages of the youth justice process is specified. Key provisions include:

- The principles of the YCJA specifically recognise the concerns of victims. Victims are to be given information about the proceedings and an opportunity to participate and be heard. They are to be treated with courtesy, compassion and respect for their dignity and privacy.
- Victims have a right of access to youth court records.
- Victims participation in community based approaches to responding to offences is encouraged
- If a young person is dealt with by an extrajudicial sanction, the victim of the offence is entitled to be informed as to how the offence was dealt with (Canadian Dept Just 2013).

Appendix 5 - Issues with the Initial Questionnaire

Working through the questionnaire at the test stage the points made or discovered during the test were as follows:-

- When asked about the number of older and younger siblings several pupils rather than write a number wrote the number of brothers and sisters in full.
- After question 5 the point should be made to move directly to question 11 if the answer was No as the immediate subsequent questions did not apply.
- Because question 9 and 10 were over the page several young people did not associate these questions with the question about their behaviour in the home and so left it blank.
- After question 11 the point should be made to move directly to question 17 if the answer was No as the immediate subsequent questions did not apply.
- Question 13 and 15 ask the same question in a different way so pupils were asked not to answer question 13 from an early stage.
- After question 17 the point should be made to move directly to question 25 if the answer was No as the immediate subsequent questions did not apply.
- After question 18 the point should be made to move directly to question 25 if the answer was No
- The young people often failed to mention why the interventions had worked or failed to work, and the author is clear when the survey starts that a full and detailed briefing of the pupils will be needed to avoid such mistakes. It was this that made the author conclude that he would need to attend in person, to brief each class completing the questionnaire, rather than have them complete the form in a distance package using a survey tool such as ‘survey monkey’, with an electronic briefing.

Appendix 6

Table of Fieldwork Undertaken

Date	Details of decision or task undertaken and its purpose	Results
April/May 2009	Decision to investigate and research youth behaviour with a view to completing a PhD	Decision to apply to Middlesex University
May 2009	Application to Middlesex University	Delay in application being processed meant start would not be in September/October 2009
October 2009	Application to Middlesex University	Accepted on to the PhD Programme commencing in January 2010
January 2010	Commenced MPhil studies and met acting supervisor for the first time	Given instructions and a basic outline of what would be required during the next five years
Between January- March 2010	Made contact with several schools and other professionals to secure their co-operation to take part in the research project	4 Secondary schools agree to take part, together with YOS workers, magistrates, youth workers and senior officers from within Fairfield council
March-June 2010	Contact made with the FIP management Board in order use families	For practical reasons this avenue of research ceased after 1 family had been interviewed
May 2010	Discussion with YOS managers concerning using their clients for research through case studies	For practical reasons YOS clients were not studied using case studies

Date	Details of decision or task undertaken and its purpose	Results
May 2010	Discussion with YOS managers concerning using their clients for research using study groups	Although initially started for ethical reasons this avenue of investigation was curtailed
May 2010	Piloting of questionnaire on group of 8 female friends of daughter	Confidence that alterations made had improved the questionnaire and that the language used in some questions was more accessible to young people, although a few further changes were suggested by the group
July 2010	Piloting of questionnaire with over 700 pupils of one school from years 7-11	Some changes to the questionnaire and a decision on a personal briefing being needed to explain the thesis.
July 2010	Piloting of questionnaire with over 700 pupils of one school from years 7-11	Two questions were removed and a further ten questions were added
August-October 2010	Contact other youth workers across London in order to complete a comparative study	<i>2 groups were interviewed but this area of investigation was stopped for practical time reasons.</i>
September – November 2010	The questionnaire was completed in the four schools	Questionnaires were well answered
September – November 2010	Attended several sessions of the KCPP group	For ethical reasons to ensure the success of the intervention to alter their

		behaviour work with this group stopped and no analysis was completed
October 2010	Interview with Fit4life participants	Data analysed but decision made with academic supervisor not to continue with this area of research
November – December 2010	Interview of the two Magistrates who sit in the youth court	Decision made after Christmas not to continue with this initial area of research
November – December 2010	Interview with the FIP family	Data was analysed but subsequent supervisory decisions meant no further FIP families were spoken to
January 2011	One school decided not to take part in the study	Decision made to include another school to maintain the size of the sample population
January – March 2011	First 20 one to one interviews completed at the PRU	Interviews went well
January 2011	Briefing of school one teaching staff	Decision by the school to take part and year 7 questionnaire completed.
January – March 2011	Analysis of first years data from the questionnaire and data from the interviews	Review of the two process with subsequent changes to the questionnaire
February 2011	Interviewed 3 young people together who were on referral orders and were required to complete reparation projects in the	This data was analysed but subsequent supervisory decisions meant no further work was done young people on such orders

	community	
February 2011	Interview of the group of mentees from LYRC	Data obtained for analysis
April – September 2011	Further reading	A realisation that a data analysis tool would be required
September 2011 – July 2012	Several tutorial session with data supervisor	Decision made by myself that I still did not have the required level of data analysis skills, specifically on SPSS, to complete meaningful cross tabulation analysis
September – November 2011	Commencement of year eight questionnaires	Issues with one school who drop out and a decision that as the sample size was over 500 without another school it would not be replaced as the sample population was sufficient
December 2011	Realisation that despite reading and supervision SPSS knowledge was not adequate	Under graduate student came to house and was hired to give instruction on how to code and input data.
January – March 2012	Coding, inputting and analysis of second years data from the questionnaire	Review of the process with academic supervisor and decision made to employ an SPSS expert
January – March 2012	SPSS expert found within CSU	Decision made to hire Sandeep for several tutorial sessions in order to gain sufficient knowledge of SPSS

July 2012	MPhil to PhD conversion panel held	Panel successfully completed
September 2012	Prison visit to male prison where a full intervention took place. However author was not able to attend at short notice and the males were briefed and asked to complete the questionnaire By the YOS worker	Data obtained for analysis
September – November 2012	Commencement of year nine questionnaires which was the third and final year of collection	No issues and data collection went very smoothly
October 2012	Prison visit to male prison where a full intervention took place, and the males were spoken to in a group afterwards	Data obtained for analysis
October 2012	Prison visit to female prison where a limited intervention took place, and the females were spoken to in a group afterwards	Data was obtained for analysis but a decision taken with academic supervisor that no further visits would be completed
October 2012 – February 2013	Remainder of the one to one interviews completed at the PRU, also with 2 gang members and 3 teachers and the mentor manager from the youth charity YEP	Interviews went well and data collected and analysed
January – March 2013	Coding, inputting and	Information obtained with

	analysis of third years data from the questionnaire	which to write thesis
March 2013 – September 2014	Further reading and analysis of the data combined with working on the finished thesis	Several supervisory session held with academic supervisor over this period
September 2014	Submission of final draft for supervision	Minor alterations suggested by supervisor
September 2014 – March 2015	Search for suitable panel to hear VIVA	Panel selected and then rejected to university rules
March 2015	Submission of final version for consideration and VIVA	VIVA panel selected an date set
July 2015	VIVA	PhD awarded subject to alterations, a few of which were substantial
December 2015	Re-submission of final version for consideration by the VIVA panel	Await decision of VIVA panel